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## X.—THE SEMASIOLOGY OF WORDS FOR ‘SMELL’ AND ‘SEE.’

Since the publication, in 1879, of Bechtel’s *Über die Bezeichnungen der sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen* little has been done in this field. In fact, the ground there broken seems to have become fallow again. Perhaps this is because the book is based on a now antiquated phonetic system. But, in the main, the principles there advocated are none the less true, even though many of the etymologies are no longer tenable. This paper is intended, therefore, to rehabilitate these principles and supply some deficiencies.

How is sense-perception expressed? Bechtel says, p. viii f.: “Die Wahrnehmungen durch die fünf sinne werden . . . sprachlich in der weise zum ausdruck gebracht, dass von der perception als solcher völlig abgesehen und statt ihrer die tätigkeit genannt wird, auf welche die perception erfolgt oder welche gegenstand der perception ist.” This is, in the first place, because the proethnic man, and the undeveloped mind as well, described sense-perception as an objective phenomenon and, secondly, because words come to connote much more than they primarily denoted, often indeed something entirely different from the root meaning. For example, when I say “I smell,” it implies not only actually, but also historically “it smells,” and this meant originally “it smokes, it exhales, it reeks.” But this is not the end of the investigation. It remains to discover the primary meaning of ‘smoke,’ and here we find what we should expect, that a word for ‘smoke’ may come from any root that may describe its appearance.

It is evident, therefore, that the development of a meaning is often brought about by the extension and then the obscuration of the original idea. To discover this original idea I see no other way than to reduce the several words of a group to a common root and, by a comparison of the various

significations, find out the primary meaning. This is based on the principle I have discussed in *AJP*, xix, 40 ff., that "words of the same phonetic composition are presumably cognate" regardless of any difference in meaning. This principle is expressed thus by Bechtel, p. xiii: "Das, was bis hinab in die äusserste periode, in welche wir dringen können, als lautlich gleich uns entgegen tritt, muss auch begrifflich zusammenfallen." And yet how often do our etymological dictionaries separate words simply because of a difference in meaning, and connect others that are phonetically unlike simply because they are synonymous. As if form were less persistent than meaning! No, the form often remains when the original meaning is entirely lost sight of, and hence the original meaning has absolutely no influence upon the development of a secondary meaning. Thus OE. *hefig* 'heavy, grievous' is not affected in its use by its connection with OE. *hebban* 'raise.'

In this paper, therefore, the attempt is made to refer the various words to their primitive roots and meanings, and to show how these meanings have developed into expressions of sense-perception. I shall consider only the words for sight and smell. The examples are taken mostly from the Germanic.

#### A. SEMASIOLOGY OF EXPRESSIONS FOR 'SMELL.'

I. To our early ancestors 'odor, smell' was in many cases synonymous with 'smoke, vapor, exhalation.' Odors were as visible as the objects of sight. They arose from the steaming viands or the reeking fen, and appealed to the eye as well as delighted or offended the nostrils of men and gods. They were described, therefore, in terms of sight.

Now what terms would be used in describing 'smoke, vapor?' We find a great variety of such words in the IE. languages. As words for 'smoke' they are, of course, not all of equally ancient origin nor do they all go back to IE. time.

They arose from time to time just as the first word for smoke arose—a description of the appearance. How should we now describe 'smoke' if there were no such word? Naturally we should say : 'It breaks forth, it rises, it eddies up, it whirls around, it puffs out,' etc. Finally a community would settle upon one or more of such expressions, and these would mean from their association 'smoke.'

1. Goth. *dauns*, ON. *daunn* 'odor,' OHG. *toum* 'vapor, odor,' Skt. *dhūmā-*, Lat. *fūmus*, etc., from the root *dhū-* 'shake, rush,' in Skt. *dhūnōti* 'shake, move,' Gk. *θύω* 'storm, rage, offer sacrifice,' ON. *dýja* 'shake,' etc.

To the derivative stem *dhū-bho-* belong Ger. *duft*, MHG. *tuft* 'exhalation, mist, dew, rime,' OHG. *tuft* 'frost,' Dan. *duft* 'exhalation, gentle wind, dust,' MDu. *duf*, LG. *duff*, *dufig* 'damp' (Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *tuft*). To these we may add MHG. *tüftlen*, *tüftelen* 'strike, beat,' OE. *dubbian* 'strike, dub,' and the group to which Goth. *daufs* 'deaf' has been assigned, viz.: OE. *dofian*, OHG. *tobēn* 'rage,' Gk. *τῦφος* 'smoke,' *τῦφόω* 'smoke, stupefy,' etc. Or G. *duft* and its congeners may be related more closely to Skt. *dhūpa-* 'smoke, incense,' *dhūpáyati* 'fumigate, perfume, smoke,' *dhūpi-* 'a kind of wind,' from the base *dhū-po-*.

2. Icel. *hniss* 'afsmak eller stark smak vid mat,' Lat. *nīdor*, Gk. *κνίσα*, *κνίσσα* 'steam and odor of fat,' from root *gnīd-* in ON. *hnīta* 'thrust,' OE. *hnūtan* 'gore, clash together,' Gk. *κνίδη* 'nettle,' *κνίζω* 'scratch,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *κνίσα*, Brugmann, *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 701.

The root *qnī-d-*, *qnīi-d-* is a derivative of *qnē-jo-*, which is from the simpler root *qnē-*, *qeno-* (Prellwitz). From this come *quē-uo-*, *qnū-d-*, etc., in Gk. *κνῦζα* 'the itch,' Lett. *knudēt* 'itch,' Goth. *hnutō* 'thorn, sting,' etc. And to this root belongs Gk. *κόνυζα*, *κνῦζα* 'fleabane' (a strong smelling plant).

The meaning 'odor, vapor' is from the intransitive use of the word 'spring forth.' The same is the case with the words following.

3. Lith. *pa-kvimpù* ‘smell’ (good or bad), *kvepiù*, *kvepéti* ‘exhale,’ *kvápas* ‘breath,’ Lett. *kwépét* ‘fumigate,’ *kúpét* ‘smoke,’ Lat. *vapor*, Gr. *καπνός* ‘breathe,’ *καπνός* ‘smoke,’ Goth. *af-hwapjan* ‘smother, extinguish.’ Cf. Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup> I, 396; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *af-hwapjan*.

The element *quě-* in the root *quě-p-* appears also in Skt. *kvathati* ‘boil, seethe,’ Goth. *hwajjan* ‘foam’ (cf. Fick as above), OE. *hwaperian* ‘foam, surge;’ and in OChSl. *kvasiti* ‘fermentare,’ ON. *huæsa* ‘hiss.’ Cf. author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, 85 f. This element *quě-* may be regarded as shortened from *qeuo-*, *qeue-* ‘beat, agitate,’ for it is from this idea that a word for ‘smoke, vapor’ is frequently derived. We may, therefore, add to this group OE. *hēawan*, OHG. *houwan* ‘hew,’ Lith. *káuti* ‘beat,’ *kovā* ‘battle,’ Lat. *cū-dō*. Lat. *cūdō* contains the same elements as, and may be compared with, Skt. *cōdati*, *cōdāyati* ‘incite, drive,’ Goth. *ga-hwatjan* ‘incite, sharpen,’ OE. *hwetlan*, etc. For further discussion of this root cf. author *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4.

The root form *qup-* occurs also in the primary sense ‘agitate.’ Compare Skt. *kúpyati* ‘be agitated, boil, be angry.’ With this have been connected Goth. OHG. *hiufan* ‘lament,’ OE. *hēfan*, etc., and Lat. *cipiō* ‘desire.’ To these we may add OE. *hwōpan* ‘cry out, threaten,’ Goth. *hwōpan* ‘boast,’ and also Gk. *κόμπος* < \**quompos* (v. Brugm. *Grd.* I<sup>2</sup>, 313) ‘noise, din, boasting,’ *κομπέω* ‘clash, boast,’ and perhaps *κόπτω* ‘strike, beat, cut,’ *κόπτομαι* ‘bewail, lament,’ *κοπετός*, *κομπός* ‘wailing,’ *κόπις* ‘prater, wrangler.’ We have in this group, therefore, the ablaut *quěp-*, *quōp-*, *qeup-*, *qup-*. The *-p-* of the Germ. is perhaps from pre-Germ. *-pn-*. The meanings of the entire group are easily derivable from ‘shake, agitate, beat.’

The same meaning and root are also in OHG. *hwennen* ‘shake, swing,’ Lat. *vannus*, Brugm. *Grd.* I<sup>2</sup>, 321. We have then the following roots *qeuo-* ‘shake, beat;’ *que-no*, *quə-no-* ‘shake, swing;’ *que-do-*, *quō-do-*, *qeuy-do-* ‘beat, incite;’ *que-tho-* ‘agitate, seethe;’ *quě-po-*, *quō-po-*, *qeuy-po-* ‘agitate, beat, smoke,

smell; 'quē-so-' agitate, seethe.' The relationship in this group is as certain as anything in linguistics can be.

4. ON. *þefa* 'smell, sniff, emit vapor,' OE. *þefian* 'pant,' Skt. *tāpati* 'burn, be warm, glow,' Lat. *tepeō*, etc., Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *thafjan*.

A word for 'burn, smoke,' etc., necessarily comes from a verb expressing motion. A root *tep-* is found in several groups of words, all of which may be combined under the primary meaning 'shoot out, stretch out.' This we find in Skt. *vi-tapati* 'stretch apart, separate,' *sam-tap-* 'draw together,' Lith. *su-tāpti* 'come together,' *tampù, tāpti* 'become,' Gk. *τόπος* 'locus extensus, regio,' *τοπάζω* 'aim at, intendo,' *τοπεῖον* 'cord, rope.' With these compare *temp-* 'stretch' in Lith. *tempiù* 'stretch out,' *temptýva* 'sinew,' OChSl. *tapü* 'obtusus, crassus,' ON. *þamb* 'cramming' Lat. *tempus* 'time,' *tempora* 'temples' (of head), *templum, contemplor* 'arevíζω,' *temptō* 'touch, feel, attack, try.' Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 443; Brugm. *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 366.

The root *tep-* occurs also in Lith. *tepù* 'smear,' OChSl. *tepa* 'strike,' both of which are closely allied in meaning to Lat. *temptō*. Here also Gk. *ταπεινός*, from *tmp-* or *tɔp-*, 'low, base, abject, submissive, obedient,' NPers. *thāftan* 'bend, oppress,' ON. *þōf* 'throng,' Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup> I, 56. For these meanings compare Lat. *tenuis* 'poor, mean, weak, low.' This also connects OE. *ge-þef* 'consenting to,' *þafian* 'consent to, permit,' with which compare especially Gk. *ταπεινός* 'submissive, obedient.' Bechtel, *Sinnl. Wahrn.* 110.

5. OE. *ge-stincan* 'smell' (trans.), *stincan* 'emit vapor, emit odor (good or bad), rise' (of dust), OHG. *stinkan* 'emit odor.' ON. *stokkva* 'jump, leap,' Goth. *stiggan* 'thrust.' This is an old combination, but apparently fallen into disrepute. The development is right in line, however, with the foregoing. It is evident that the meaning 'smell, stink' came from 'emit vapor.' OE. *stinecan* in the sense 'emit vapor' is certainly the same as in 'rise, whirl up.' It is simply the descriptive use of this word that came to mean

'emit vapor' and consequently 'emit odor.' OE. *stincan* 'rise, whirl up' no one separates from ON. *stekkva*, Goth. *stiggan*, and, as we see here, the various meanings form a graduated scale from one to the other. Goth. *-staggan* 'strike, dash,' causative of *stiggan*, is formally identical with OE. *stencan* 'scatter,' but not with OHG. *stenchan* 'cause odor,' denominative of *stanch* 'odor,' which is a derivative of the verb in the sense 'emit odor.'

Now this Germ. root *sting-*, *stanq-* has developed a secondary ablaut as compared with Lat. *stinguō*, with which it has been combined. The IE. root is properly *sti(n)g<sup>ꝝ</sup>-*, to which also belong Gk. *στείβω* 'tread on, stamp' (primarily 'leap up and down on' = ON. *støkkva* 'leap'), *στοιβή* 'a stuffing, packing,' *στίβος* 'path,' etc., and Lith. *stingau* 'become thick,' Lett. *stingt* 'become compact,' *stings* 'stiff.' Lat. *stinguō*, *ex-stinguō* 'meant primarily 'stamp out,' or else 'stuff full,' like E. *stifle* from ON. *stýfla* 'dam up,' from *stýfr* 'stiff;' and *distinguō* meant 'thrust asunder' hence 'separate,' like OE. *stencan* 'scatter.' With this root we may here connect OHG. *irsticchan* 'stifle, suffocate,' MHG. *erstecken* 'stuff full, suffocate.'

The root *stei-g<sup>ꝝ</sup>-* in *στείβω*, *stinguō*, *stiggan*, etc., is in all probability an extension of *stei-*. Compare *stei-g-* in Goth. *stiks*, OHG. *stehhan*, Lat. *instigō*, Gk. *στίξω*, etc.; *stei-gh-* in Goth. *steigan*, Gk. *στείχω*, etc.; *stei-bh-* in Gk. *στίφος* 'heap,' *στιφρός* 'firm,' Lith. *staibus* 'strong, brave,' etc.; *stei-p-* in Lat. *stipes* 'post,' *stipō* 'press, cram,' Lith. *stiprus* 'firm,' *stipti* 'become stiff,' OE. *stif* 'stiff,' etc. The root *stei-* in Gk. *στία*, *στίον*, Goth. *stains* 'stone,' etc., probably meant originally 'rise, spring up,' for from this the various meanings of this widespread root are traceable.

6. OHG. *drāhen*, MHG. *drehen*, *dræjen*, *drēn* 'breathe, exhale; smell' (trans.) < \**þrējan*, *drāt* 'exhalation, odor,' OHG. *drāho* 'fragrant;' *dräsen* 'exhale, snort,' *drāsōd* 'snorting,' *thrāsunga*, same, MHG. *drās*, *drāst* 'exhalation, odor,' OE. *þrosm* 'vapor, smoke,' *þryzman* 'oppress.'

The common meaning of the above group is 'puff,' and this probably came from 'scatter, throw out.' We may, therefore, refer these words to the pre-Germ. root *sterō-*, (*s*)*trē-*, and compare them with the base *strē-* which occurs in MHG. *stræjen* < \**strējan* 'spritzen, stieben, lodern,' *sträm* 'strom, richtung, streifen, strahl,' *stræmelin* 'strahl,' OHG. *strāla* 'arrow, flash,' OE. *strāl* 'arrow,' OChSl. *strēla* 'arrow,' OHG. *streno* 'strähne,' Lat. *strēnuus* 'brisk, quick,' Gk. στρηνύς 'strong, rough, harsh,' OE. *strēc*, *strec* 'violent, mighty, stern,' with which compare OE. *steare* 'rigid, rough, severe, violent, strong,' OHG. *starc* 'stark,' etc.

The root *sterō-, strē-*, 'scatter, throw out' is found further in Gk. στερέος 'stiff, hard,' MHG. *starren* 'starr werden,' OChSl. *starū* 'old,' Lith. *storas* 'thick,' ON. *stōrr*, 'large.' These come from the meaning 'throw out, project, stand out, be stiff,' etc., the same meaning being found in many other derivatives. From 'throwing out, radiating' come Gk. στέρωψ 'flashing, bright,' στέρωπή 'lightning, flash,' as in OHG. *strā-la* 'missile, flash,' and also ἀστήρ, Goth. *stairnō* 'star.' Finally, from 'throw out, scatter, strew' come Skt. *stryñoti* 'strew,' Lat. *sternō*, etc. To these I should add Lat. *sternuō* 'sneeze' rather than to compare it with Gk. πτάρνυμι.

7. MHG. *bræhen* 'smell,' OE. *brāþ* 'odor, exhalation, vapor,' OHG. *brādam* 'steam, vapor, exhalation,' *brātan*, OE. *brēdan* 'roast,' ON. *brāðr* 'sudden, hasty,' MHG. *brüegen* 'scald, burn' come from a root *bhrē-*, *bhero-*, which is found further in Gk. φρέαρ 'spring,' Lat. *fretum* 'a raging, swelling, violence, sea,' Skt. *bhurāti* 'move violently,' and many others. Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 20 f.

From the above root Persson derives OE. *brōc* 'brook,' OHG. *bruoh* 'swamp,' etc., connecting them with Skt. *bhuraj-* 'bubble, boil,' etc., though they are usually supposed to belong to the root *bhrē-g-* 'break.' I see, however, no reason for separating Skt. *bhuraj-* 'boil, bubble' from *-bhrraj-* in *giribhraj-* 'breaking forth from mountains.' We have in these words the various developments of the same root. They are

not more widely separated in meaning than MHG. *briezen* ‘swell, bud, break open’ and OE. *brēotan* ‘break, destroy, kill,’ one intransitive, the other transitive. This is the explanation of the variety of meanings in the root *bhero-*, *bhrē-*, which may be one in origin wherever found. Persson, *Wz.* 21, assumes at least three IE. roots *bher-*: (1) *bher-* ‘bear,’ Skt. *bhárāmi*, Gk. *φέρω*, Lat. *ferō*, etc. (2) *bher-* ‘bore, cut;’ ‘strike, fight,’ Gk. *φαράω* ‘plough,’ Lat. *forō* ‘bore,’ etc.; Skt. *bhāra-* ‘battle,’ Lat. *feriō*, ON. *berja* ‘beat,’ etc. (3) *bher-* ‘move violently, bubble, boil,’ Skt. *bhuráti*, Lat. *fer-veō*, *fre-tum*, etc. (v. supra).

These three roots are easily connected in meaning. Primarily *bhero-* probably signified a starting-up motion, which may be loosely given as ‘rise, raise’ (cf. author, *Jour. Germ. Phil.*, I, 442). From this developed, when used intransitively, various verbs expressing more or less rapid motion, as in (3). When used transitively, *bhero-* splits into two main divisions (1) ‘cause to move:’ ‘carry, raise, bear,’ and (2) ‘set in motion, strike,’ whence ‘cut, wound, pierce.’

With *bhero-* ‘move, start up, arouse’ compare the Germ. root *rīs-* ‘rise, raise.’ This root much more than *bhero-* denoted a rising motion, and yet it furnishes several parallels to the development of *bhero-*. To *rīs* belong MHG. *rīsen*, OHG. *rīsan* ‘rise, fall,’ Goth. *-reisan*, OS., OE. *rīsan* ‘rise,’ OHG. *reisa*, MHG. *reise* ‘start, march, expedition,’ NHG. *reise*, *reisen*, OE. *rēran* ‘raise, rear, build, establish, excite, perform,’ *rēs* ‘running, rush, attack,’ *rēsan* ‘rush, attack,’ *rāsettan* ‘rage’ (of fire, probably here rather than to MHG. *rāsen*, Ger. *rasen* < root *rēs-*, as appears from the following) OE. *ge-rīs* ‘fury,’ *rīsan* ‘seize.’

For other parallels to the development ‘run, flow, bubble:’ ‘strike, cut’ see below under the root *pēu-*.

8. OE. *stēman* ‘emit odor, smell sweet,’ *stēam* ‘exhalation, hot vapor, steam,’ Du. *stoom*, EFrs. *stōm* have been referred to Gk. *στύω* ‘erect, make stiff.’ This etymology is quite possible, but I suggest another which seems to me more

probable: Lith. *stumiù* 'thrust,' Skt. *stōma-* 'throng.' Notice the following parallels: Skt. *dhăñóti* 'shake:' Lat. *fūmus* 'smoke;' OHG. *tobēn* 'rage:' Gk. *τῦφος* 'smoke;' ON. *hnīta* 'strike:' Gk. *κνῖσα* 'steam;' Skt. *kúpyati* 'be agitated:' Gk. *καπνός* 'smoke;' OChSl. *tepę* 'strike:' ON. *þefa* 'emit vapor;' Goth. *stiggan* 'thrust:' OE. *stincan* 'emit vapor;' Skt. *strñóti* 'scatter:' OHG. *drāhen* 'exhale;' Skt. *lhuráti* 'agitate,' Lat. *feriō* 'strike:' OE. *brēþ* 'vapor;' Lith. *stumiù* 'thrust:' OE. *stēam* 'vapor.'

This means that when we find the same root meaning 'strike' and 'smoke' the latter is the intransitive use of the word employed as a descriptive term. What we really have is 'strike:' 'leap forth.' Therefore the intransitive use of any word expressing motion, especially quick or violent motion, may produce a descriptive term, and consequently a word, for fire, smoke, wind, water. But while they give these, they may develop in as many different ways as they may be descriptively applied. And this is only the beginning. Every secondary term thus formed develops new words whose derived meanings come from the secondary not the root-meaning. From the derived words spring others with new significations, and so on, theoretically, without limit.

To OE. *stēam* 'vapor,' Lith. *stumiù* 'thrust' we may refer OHG., OS. *stum*, Du. *stom* 'dumb, silent.' Compare Gk. *τῦφώω* 'smoke; stupefy,' Goth. *daufs* 'deaf,' *dumbs* 'dumb.' The root *stū-* upon which these are based may be defined 'strike, thrust; leap forth.' It is the base of a large family of words for 'strike; spring forth' with their various derived meanings. It is quite within the possibilities that OHG. *stouwen* 'scold,' Gk. *στύω* 'erect,' Skt. *stāuti* 'praise,' Goth. *stōjan* 'judge' are all from the same root. The root *stū-* then may be an extension of *stā-*, *stē-* 'stand, set.' Hence *stū-* (from *stē-uo-* or *stā-uo-*) would properly mean 'set up, fix, make stiff;' 'cause to start up, thrust, strike;' 'start up, spring forth,' etc. OHG. *stouwen* 'scold' is 'thrust' in its figurative sense (cf. OHG. *sceltan* 'scold:' *scaltan* 'thrust');

Gk. *στύω* ‘erect, make stiff’ preserves the literal meaning ‘raise;’ Skt. *stāuti* ‘praise’ is paralleled by Lat. *extollo, exalto*, etc.; Goth. *stōjan* ‘judge’ is equivalent to ‘set, establish.’

Corresponding to Lith. *stumiù* ‘thrust:’ OE. *stēam* ‘vapor’ are Gk. *τύπτω* ‘strike,’ Lat. *stupeō* ‘am astonished,’ OHG. *stioban* ‘scatter,’ MHG. *stöuben* ‘beat up, chase:’ OHG. *stoup* ‘dust,’ OE. *stofa* ‘bath-room,’ *stof-bæþ* ‘vapor bath,’ OHG. *stuba* ‘stube,’ etc. (cf. author, *JGPh.*, II, 227 f.; and, on the possible extension of the root *stē-*, *stā-*, Persson, *Wz.* passim).

9. Skt. *ghrāti, jīghrati* ‘smell,’ *ghrāṇa-* ‘odor,’ Gk. *ἀσφραίνομαι* ‘smell, scent, track,’ Lat. *frā-grā-re* ‘emit odor’ (good or bad). Brugmann, *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 591.

These words from the root *g<sup>u</sup>hrā-* we may compare with Lith. *gāras* ‘steam,’ *garūti* ‘emit vapor,’ OChSl. *gorēti* ‘burn,’ *grēti* ‘warm,’ Skt. *ghṛṇōmi, jīgharmi* ‘shine,’ Gk. *θέρομαι* ‘become warm,’ *θερμός* ‘warm,’ Lat. *formus*, etc. The root *g<sup>u</sup>hero-, g<sup>u</sup>hrē-* to which these words belong probably meant at first ‘spring forth’ (cf. author, *AJP.*, xix, 49). In any case it denoted rapid motion. Of that we may be sure from the developed meanings. The same root is therefore in Gk. *φέρ-τερος* ‘stronger, braver, better,’ Lith. *gēras* ‘good,’ primarily ‘active;’ in Gk. *φρήν* ‘midriff, heart’ (as seat of passions), OHG. *grun* ‘sorrow,’ OE. *grym* ‘trouble,’ ON. *grunr* ‘presentiment’ (Brugmann, *Grd.* I<sup>2</sup>, 614), in all of which ‘agitation’ is the underlying idea; in Gk. *φορ-κός*, Germ. *grē-ga-, grē-wa-* ‘gray,’ ablaut *g<sup>u</sup>hṛ-*, *g<sup>u</sup>hrē-*, cf. OChSl. *grē-ti* ‘warm,’ Skt. *ghṛ-nōti* ‘shine;’ possibly also in Skt. *jīgharti* ‘sprinkle, drip,’ primarily ‘cause to spring forth,’ like G. *sprengen*, so that after all Skt. *ghrā-* ‘smell’ and *ghar-* ‘sprinkle’ may be related as Sonne supposed (cf. Bechtel, p. 54), though not in the manner there assumed.

10. OHG. *riohhan* ‘smoke, steam, exhale, smell,’ ON. *rjúka* ‘smoke, reek,’ OE. *rēocan* ‘smoke, steam, stink,’ E. *reek*, OHG. *rouh*, OS. *rök*, ON. *reykr* ‘smoke’ belong to a Germ. root *ruk-*, which according to Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>, has not been found outside of Germ.

The Germ. root *ruk-* 'smoke' is the IE. root *rug-* 'break forth, emit, exhale.' Properly the meaning is 'break forth,' as this is certainly an extension of the root *reu-* 'break.' The other significations are secondary or descriptive. This root is found in Gk. ἐρεύγω, ἐρεύγομαι 'burst forth, belch, bellow,' Lat. ē-rūgō-, ē-rūctō 'belch, cast out, emit, exhale,' ēructatiō 'exhalation,' Lith. rūgiu 'vomit,' OHG. it-ruchen 'ruminant,' OE. roc 'cud,' roccettan 'belch, utter' (words), ed-rocan 'ruminant.' Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *räuspern*, and for the connection between Germ. *ruk-* 'smoke' and IE. *rug-* 'break forth,' cf. the author, *JGPh.*, II, 226 f. This connection I supposed original with myself, but afterward discovered it was given by Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *itaruchjan*.

To the same root *rug-* 'break forth' belong Lat. *rugiō* 'bellow,' Gk. ἡρυγόν 'bellowed.' Cf. OE. *bealcan* 'belch forth, utter,' *bælcan* 'vociferate.' Here also OE. *rēoc* 'fierce,' primarily 'bursting out, outbreaking.' For other connections cf. author, *JGPh.*, I, 449 f.

11. E. *smell*: Du. *smeulen* 'smolder,' M.E. *smolder* 'stifling smoke' are probably from a pre-Germ. root *smu-lo-*. This may be further connected with the root *smu-ro-* in G. *schnoren*, Du. *smoren* 'roast, steam, smother,' OE. *smorian* 'suffocate,' and with *smu-go-* in OE. *smēocan*, *smocian*, MHG. *smouch* 'smoke,' etc. These are from the simpler root *smū-* 'rub.' This gives 'wear away, consume, devour' (cf. Persson, *Wurzelw.* 181), and when used descriptive of fire came to mean 'burn,' especially of a slow fire. In Germ., therefore, these several roots developed the meaning 'smoke,' and, in the case of *smulo-*, 'smell.' The root *smū-* occurs in Germ. in the sense 'devour, eat,' in G. *schmaus*, Du. *smullen* 'carouse,' *smuisteren* 'feast,' etc. Cf. Kluge, s. v. *Schmaus*.

12. OIr. *bolad* 'odor,' Lett. *bu'l's* 'hazy, sultry air, vapor' (Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, II, 180). These evidently belong to the root *bheu-lo-* 'swell:' Goth. *uf-bauļjan* 'cause to swell, make haughty,' OHG. *būlla* 'pustule,' MHG. *biule*, OE. *býle* 'boil,' Ir. *bolack* (cf. as above), OE. *byled-brēost* 'puff-breasted,' Gk.

φῦλον ‘troop, race,’ from the root *bhā-* ‘spring up, arise be :’ Skt. *bhávati*, Gk. φύω, Lat. *fui*, etc.

13. OE. *ge-swæccan* ‘smell,’ *swæcc* ‘smell, odor, flavor, taste,’ OHG. *swehhhan* ‘smell, stink ; boil, gush out.’ The pre-Germ. *suəgo-* from which this group came evidently meant ‘flow, gush out.’ It is therefore the same as *sūgo-* ‘cause to flow, suck :’ Lat. *sūgō*, OE. *sūcan* ‘suck.’ Compare also *sūgo-* in Lat. *sūcus* ‘sap, juice,’ OHG., OE. *sūgan* ‘suck.’ (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 8, 22.)

The idea ‘taste’ comes from ‘suck, drink,’ and from this the meaning ‘savor, smell.’ Compare Lat. *sapor* ‘taste, flavor, savor, scent, odor.’ Or the pre-Germ. \**suəgo-* ‘flowing, juicy’ developed the signification ‘good-tasting ; taste, flavor,’<sup>1</sup> etc. The meaning ‘stink’ of *swehhhan* is a later growth. Any word for ‘smell’ may come to mean ‘stink.’

With OHG. *swehhhan* Schade, *Wb.* connects *swach*, Goth. *siuks* ‘weak, sick,’ etc. This is a good example of the superiority of phonetic comparison over such as are based on similarity of meaning. We must, however, explain the meaning differently. Pre-Germ. \**seugo-*, \**suəgo-* meant primarily ‘flowing out, drained, exhausted,’ hence ‘weary, weak, sick.’ In the sense ‘exhaust’ Lat. *sūgō* is used. So also G. *aussaugen*. Similarly G. *erschöpft*, Lat. *exhaustus*. More proof is not needed.

With Persson (cf. as above) I believe these words are from the root *sū-*, and in its various senses. For the primary meaning we may assume ‘cast, pour forth ; flow out.’ Here belong Skt. *suváti* ‘impel, set in motion,’ the transitive of the root *sū-* ; *sütē* ‘generate, bring forth,’ primarily ‘pour out, sēmināre ; east, bring forth ;’ *sunōti* ‘press out’ = ‘cause to flow ;’ and a host of derivative roots.

14. MHG. *smecken* ‘try, taste, smell, perceive,’ OHG. *smecken* ‘taste,’ *smackēn* ‘savor of,’ OE. *smæccan* ‘taste,’ ODu. *smaken*, OFrs. *smakia*, OHG. *gi-smah* ‘taste,’ MHG. *smac* ‘taste, smell,’ etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gk. χυλός, χυμός ‘juice, liquid’: ‘flavor, taste.’

These words are connected with LG. *smacken* 'smack the lips,' MHG. *smackezen*, *smatzen* 'smack.' But 'smack' did not come from 'taste,' but 'taste' from 'smack,' and primarily 'smack' meant 'strike, touch.' We may therefore compare OE. *smacian* 'pat.' The development 'touch : 'taste' is natural and easy. Compare It. *tastare*, OFr. *taster* 'feel,' whence G. *tasten* : E. *taste*; Lat. *tango* 'touch : 'taste.' 'Tasting' implies 'touching, trying, choosing.' Germ. *smaka*, *smakka* from pre-Germ. *smo-go-*, *smo-gno-* may be compared with *smē-gho-*, *smō-gho-* in Gk.  $\sigma\mu\dot{\gamma}\chi\omega$  'rub,'  $\sigma\mu\acute{\omega}\chi\omega$  'rub, grind with the teeth,' from the root *smē-* 'rub.'

15. Lat. *oleō* 'smell, emit odor' is generally supposed to be for *\*odeō*. I doubt it. The supposition is gratuitous and improbable. For why should *\*odeō* become *oleō* while *odor* remained. The existence of *olor* 'odor' makes it still more improbable.

A root *el-*, *ol-* in a sense entirely adequate to explain *oleō* occurs in Lat. *ad-oleō* 'burn, sacrifice,' *ad-olescō* 'grow up, burn, blaze up,' *olescō* 'grow.' The meanings 'grow : 'burn' both come from 'spring up, rise.' (Compare Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *lodern* 'emporflammen : ' 'üppig wachsen.') Perhaps here also Goth. *alan* 'grow,' Lat. *alō*, etc., from *\*əlō*; and certainly OE. *ālan* 'burn, kindle,' *āled* 'fire, fire-brand,' OSw. *ēledh*, ON. *eldr* 'fire,' and OHG. *elo* < *\*elyo-* 'yellow.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ēlāia*.) To these add OE. *ealu*, OS. *alo*, ON. *ol* 'ale,' OSlov. *olū* 'cider,' Lith. *alus* 'beer,' primarily 'brewed, fermented.'

Lat. *oleō* therefore came to the signification 'smell' through 'rise, exhale,' and the root *el-*, *ol-* is the same as that in Gk.  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\text{-}\theta\epsilon\hat{\nu}$  'go,'  $\ddot{\epsilon}\lambda\nu\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$   $\dot{\epsilon}\rho\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (Hesych.),  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\acute{\nu}\nu\omega$  'drive.' Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 236; author, *JGPh.*, I, 452 f. Here also belongs the root *ol-* 'pass away, destroy : ' Lat. *ab-olescō* 'decay, vanish,' *ab-oleō* 'destroy,' Gk.  $\delta\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\iota$  'destroy, lose,'  $\ddot{\delta}\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\alpha\iota$  'pereo.' Compare the similar development in G. *vergehen*, *umkommen*, Goth. *us-qiman* 'kill,' OS. *wītan* 'go,' OE. *ge-wītan* 'depart, die,' etc.

From *el-* ‘rise, run, flow’ come perhaps Gk. ἔλαιον ‘oil,’ ἔλαια ‘olive,’ Lat. *oleum*, etc., and also Gk. ὅλ-πη, ὅλ-πις ‘oil-flask, ἔλπις· ἔλαιον, στέαρ (Hesych.), which are usually connected with Goth. *salbōn*, etc. Similarly Goth. *salbōn* may be referred to the root *sel-* ‘flow.’ Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 110.

16. ON. *fnykr*, OSw. *fnuk*, *fnok* ‘stench, filth,’ pre-Germ. \**pnu-go-*, from the root *pnēgo-* in Gk. πνεῦμα ‘wind, breath, scent,’ πνοή ‘wind, blast, exhalation, odor, fragrance,’ πνέω ‘blow, breathe, emit odor, smell,’ with which compare *pneu-so-* in OE. *fnēsan* ‘sneeze,’ Du. *fniezen*, Sw. *fnysa*, ON. *fnysa* ‘snort,’ ON. *fnióskr*, Sw. *fnöske* ‘punk, touchwood,’ pre-Germ. \**pneusqo-*, \**pnuusqio-* ‘blowing: blazing’ (cf. Goth. *blēsan* ‘blow:’ OE. *blæse* ‘blaze, torch;’ *blēst* ‘wind, blast: flame, glare;’ Gk. πνοιή ‘Ηφαίστου, Il. 21, 355; πυρὸς πνοαί, Eur. Tro. 815); and *pneu-to-* or *pneu-dho-* in OHG. *fnotōn* ‘quassare.’

These are reducible to a root *pnē-*, *peno-*, which appears in ON. *fnasa*, *fnósa*, OE. *fnēsettan* ‘snort,’ *ge-fnesan* ‘sneeze,’ *fnēst* ‘breath, blast’ (of fire), *fnēstian* ‘breathe hard,’ OHG. *fnāstōd* ‘anhelitus,’ etc., base *pnē-so-* *pnō-so-*; and in OHG. *fnehan* ‘breathe, pant,’ *fnūhtente* ‘snorting,’ base *pnē-qo-*, with which compare *pen-qo-* in OChSl. *pq̄čiti sę* ‘inflari.’ Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. πνίγω. Gk. πνίγω ‘stifle; stew,’ πνῆγος ‘stifling, stifling heat,’ etc., represent a base *pnī-go-*, a derivative of the root *pnē-qiō-*. The morphological development was *peno-*, *pnē-*; *pnēgo-*, *pnū-*; *pnēu-go*; *pnēu-so-*, etc.; *peno-*, *pnē-*; *pnēio-*; *pnī-go-*, etc.: *peno-*, *penē-*; *pnē-go-*; *pnē-so-*, etc. These are types of various possibilities in the growth of roots.

17. OChSl. *qčhati* ‘odorari,’ *vonja* ‘fragrance,’ Lat. (*h)ālō* < \**an-s-lō* (Brugmann, *Grd.*, II, 1026), Skt. *āniśi*, Goth. *-anan* ‘breathe,’ Gk. ἄνεμος ‘wind,’ etc., root *an-* ‘breathe, blow.’

18. OE. *ēþian* < \**ø(n)þian*, tr. ‘smell, blow on, intr. ‘breathe; rush, rise’ (of flame) *or-(o)þ* ‘breath,’ *orþian* ‘breathe, pant,’ ON. *ör-ende*, *ande*, *ond* ‘breath.’ Noreen, *UL.* 138. The Germ. root *anþ-*, *and-* is perhaps from pre-

Germ. *ant-*, *an-to-*, from *an-* 'blow ;' to which, according to Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>, belong OE. *anda* 'anger, zeal,' OHG. *anto*, *antōn*, G. *ahnden*, etc. Cf., however, Brugmann, *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 315.

The connection of Goth. *ansts* 'favor' with the root *an-* 'breathe,' which Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, declares 'kaum denkbar,' has its parallel in Lat. *adspiro* 'breathe upon : favor, assist, sustain,' and in Gk. *πνέω* 'breathe : breathe favorably upon.'

19. OHG. *wāzan* 'smell, exhale, blow, storm,' MHG. *wāz* 'sense of smell, odor, exhalation, wind, gust, storm,' *wāze* 'a blowing,' OHG. *wāzen*, MHG. *wāzen* 'exhale, puff out, bubble, spout.' These certainly belong to OE. *wāt*, ON. *vātr* 'wet,' OE. *wāter*, Goth. *watō* 'water,' etc., from the IE. root *u̥ē-d-*, *u̥-d-* 'wave, blow,' from the simpler root *u̥ē-*, *euo-* 'wave, roll.' IE. \**u̥ē-ti*, which came to mean 'it blows,' was primarily 'it waves, it rolls,' describing the effect of the wind. The same root with various suffixes described the rolling, waving, flowing of water, and hence came to mean 'water.' The root *u̥ēd-* occurs also in the sense 'utter, speak, sing.' See Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ιδέω*.

20. MHG. *witeren*, ON. *viðra* 'get wind of, smell' are closely connected with OHG. *wetar*, ON. *veðr*, OE. *weder*, OS. *wedar*, Germ. \**wedra-* 'wind, weather,' OChSl. *větrū* 'air, wind,' Lith. *vētra* 'wind, storm,' from the root *u̥ē-t-* 'blow,' Skt. *vāta* 'wind,' Gk. *ἀήτης* 'wind,' *ἀήτημά* 'breath, exhalation,' Germ. *winda-* 'wind,' etc. Cf. author, *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4.

21. Skt. *vāsas* 'fragrance,' *vāsāyāmi* 'perfume' contain a root *u̥ēs-*, *aus-*, *u̥s-* 'wave, blow, blaze, flow.' This root describes the waving produced by the wind, the blowing or blazing of the flame, and the flowing or gushing out of water. These ideas are frequently combined under one root because they all represent a similar motion. The foliage waves in the wind, the flame waves or flickers, the water waves or rolls. Hence to this root we may refer Skt. *uṣ-* 'burn,' Lat. *ūrō*, Skt. *vas-* 'shine,' Lat. *aurōra*, OE. *ēast*,

etc.; OHG. *waso* ‘damp ground, ooze,’ i. e., where water springs up, *wasal* ‘rain;’ Gk. *aīω*, Lat. *hauriō*, ON. *ausa* ‘draw water,’ i. e., ‘cause to flow, drain off,’ cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* To these belong OHG. *wesanēn* ‘become dry, rotten,’ ON. *visenn* < \**wisinaz* < \**yesenos* ‘withered,’ OE. *wisnian*, *weornian* ‘dry up, wither,’ MHG. *verwesen* ‘disappear, destroy.’ This shows us the development of *yes-* ‘consume, devour, eat.’ Compare Lat. *hauriō* in the sense ‘consume, devour, swallow, drink’ with Goth. *wisan* ‘consume, spend, eat, feast,’ *wizōn* ‘live, enjoy life,’ Lat. *vescor*, etc. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *wizōn*, regards *yes-* ‘devour’ and *yes-* ‘be’ as identical. This is doubtless correct, but the connection in meaning should be differently explained. On *yes-* ‘be’ compare author, *JGPh.*, II, 219.

II. A group of words signifying ‘rotteness, filth, fetidness’ is derivable from words that are descriptive of the conditions accompanying putrefaction, such as ‘break open,’ ‘gush out,’ ‘fall to pieces,’ ‘waste away,’ ‘be consumed,’ ‘be slimy,’ etc. Thus E. *decay*, OFr., Span. *decaer*, It. *decadere* < Lat. *dē + cadere*; Germ. *morsch*: MHG. *zer-mürsen* ‘crush,’ Kluge, *Et. Wb.*; Gk. *ψώα* ‘rotteness, putrid stench :’ *ψώω* ‘rub,’ root *psē-*, *psō-* from *bhsē-*, *bhesō-* in Skt. *bhásati* ‘chew, crush,’ Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*; Lat. *rōdō* ‘gnaw :’ ‘corrode ;’ Lat. *fistula* ‘pipe :’ ‘ulcer, fester,’ primarily, in both cases, ‘that from which something flows ;’ Gk. *ρύπος* ‘filth,’ base *sru-po-* from *sreuo-* ‘flow,’ Skt. *srāvati*, etc., Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*; OE. *spryng* ‘ulcer :’ ‘flux, spring ;’ G. *eiter*: Gk. *οἰδάω* ‘swell ;’ Gk. *φλύσις* ‘a breaking out, eruption :’ *φλύω* ‘overflow ;’ OHG. *wesanēn* ‘become dry, rot :’ *wasal* ‘water,’ root *yes-* ‘flow.’

1. OE. *rotian* ‘rot, ulcerate,’ OS. *rotōn*, OHG. *rōzzēn* ‘rot, become soft,’ ON. *rotinn* ‘rotten,’ etc., Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *rōsten*<sup>2</sup>. The old comparison of the Germ. root *rut-* ‘rot’ with *rut-* ‘weep, wail,’ as in Schade, *Wb.* s. v. OHG. *riuzzan*, is undoubtedly correct, though one was not derived from the other directly but both from the primary idea ‘break forth.’

For the development 'break forth :' 'lament' compare the root *rug-* above. The change from 'break out' to 'ulcerate, rot' is so simple that there can be no doubt as to the connection. We still describe cutaneous eruptions as 'breaking out.' So Lat. *ēruptiō* 'a breaking out, eruption of morbid matter.'

The IE. root *reu-do-*, an outgrowth of *reu-* 'break,' occurs in Lat. *rūdus* 'broken stones, rubbish ;' *rūdis* ('broken') 'rough, rude ;' *rūdens* ('breaking, restraining') 'stay, rope' (with which last compare *reu-dho-* in Skt. *ruṇaddhi* 'hold back, hold'); and in Lith. *rūdýnas* 'swamp, marsh,' in which the development of meaning is the same as in OHG. *bruoh*, MHG. *bruoch*, G. *bruch* 'swamp, bog,' MLG. *brōk*, Du. *broek* 'marsh, pool,' OE. *brōc* 'brook,' Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>

The base *roudo-* occurs perhaps in Lat. *rōdō* 'gnaw, eat away, waste away, corrode.' If so, this may be compared directly with *rot*, both from the primary meaning 'break up, break open, the former transitive, the latter intransitive. Here also probably OHG. *rōst*, *rōsta* 'gridiron.'

2. Gk. *ταγγή*, *τάγγος* 'putrid swelling, rancidness,' *ταγγιέζω* 'be rancid, have ulcers.' With these compare *τέγγω* 'moisten, soften,' Lat. *tingō*, OHG. *thunkōn*, MHG. *dunken* 'tunken.' The common meaning for the group is 'flow.' This makes it probable that this root *teng-* 'flow' is related to *teq-* 'run, flow :' Lith. *tekù*, OChSl. *tek̄* 'run, flow,' Skt. *tākati* 'hasten.' To these belong OE. *þegen* 'attendant, warrior,' OS. *thegan* 'degen,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *þius*), but not Goth. *þius*, since the root *teq-* contains rather a pure velar (v. Brg., *Grd.*, 1<sup>2</sup>, 575, 578).

3. OE. *dylsta* 'matter, pus,' *dylstiht* 'festering, mucous' may be referred to the base *dhu-lo-*, *dhue-lo-* and compared with Gk. *θολός* 'mud, filth,' *θολερός* 'muddy, foul,' and further with Goth. *dwals* 'foolish.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*) The primary meaning of *dhue-lo-* is 'agitate,' as in the simple root *dhū-*. Applied to water it gives 'muddy,' hence 'thick, viscous ;' to the air, 'dusty, cloudy.' (So G. *trübe* is used in this double sense.) When used of persons it signifies 'move

about,' as in OE. *dwelian* 'lead astray; go astray, wander,' *dwolian* 'stray, err.'

4. OE. *adela* 'putrid mud, filth,' *adelsēaþ* 'cesspool, sewer,' E. (obs. and prov.) *addle* 'liquid filth, mire; lees, dregs,' as adj. 'putrid.'

These should come from a base meaning 'flow.' Such a base may be furnished by Skt. *ātati* 'go, wander, run,' *ātya-* 'hastening.' With this compare Gk. *ἀστος* < \**ἄτιος* 'slimy, miry,' primarily 'flowing,' *ἀσις* 'slime;' OHG. *ata-haft* 'continuous,' *atar* 'quick, sharp, sagacious,' OS. *adro*, OE. *ædre* 'at once.' We have in these words the ablaut ē, ă, ə, and may add here Gk. *ἡτορ* 'heart,' *ἡτρον* 'belly,' *ἡτριον* 'warp,' OHG. *ādara* 'artery, sinew,' OE. *ædre* 'vein, nerve, sinew,' in pl. 'kidneys, spring' (of water), *wæter-ædre* 'spring, torrent,' ON. *āðr* 'vein.' These names for 'vein, entrails, spring' plainly come from the meaning 'flow, gush out.' Compare OE. *gētan* 'flow:' *gētend* 'artery,' *guttas* 'entrails;' Gk. *φλέψ* 'vein:' *φλέω* 'overflow' (Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*); Lat. *vēna* < \**uesnā-:* compare OHG. *wasal* 'water,' *wesanēn* 'become dry' = 'flow out' (v. supra).

Here also belongs *ēt-* 'breathe.' Compare Lat. *fretum* 'swelling, violence, sea:' OE. *brēþ* 'exhalation, breath;' Gk. *φλέω* 'overflow,' Lat. *fleō* 'weep,' OHG. *blājan* 'swell;' 'blow,' OE. *blāwan* 'blow.' So *ēt-* 'flow:' 'breathe.' For derivatives of *ēt-* 'breathe' see Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Atem*.

All these meanings, as we see, may have developed from 'go, run,' whence 'flow, issue, blow,' &c. To *et-* 'go, run' we may also refer Skt. *āti* 'beyond, across,' Gk. *ἐπι* 'besides, still,' Lat. *et*, etc. Compare Gk. *πέρα* 'beyond,' *πέρι* 'over, around,' Lat. *per*, etc.: root *pero-* 'go, cross:' Lat. *trans-* root *tero-* 'go through.'

Closely connected with Skt. *āti* 'beyond' is a word meaning 'end, boundary.' Compare Gk. *τέρμα* 'end, boundary,' Lat. *termō*, *terminus*, root *tero-*; Gk. *πέρας*, *πέραπ* 'end,' root *pero-*. So to *et-* 'go,' *eti* 'beyond' we may join Skt. *ātā-* 'edge, boundary,' with which compare OHG. *etar*, MHG.

*eter* < \**et-ró-* 'fence, boundary, edge, enclosure,' OS. *edor* 'fence,' OE. *e(o)dor* 'fence, hedge, enclosure, court, dwelling, region, zone, prince, king,' Lat. *atrium* 'court' < \**atrīo-*.

As 'boundary' easily passes into 'enclosure, country, region,' as above, and then into 'people, race,' we may add here OE. *ōþel*, *ēþel* 'country, native land,' OHG. *uodal*, OS. *ōðil*; OHG. *adal* 'race, noble race,' etc. (See further Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *Adel*.) Compare Skt. *vṛjāna* 'enclosure; community, people.' Or this group may be more directly connected with the meaning 'go, wander.' For 'wander, move in' meant among our ancestors 'dwell in, possess.' Thus: Lat. *versō* 'turn, pasture, dwell in ;' Skt. *cārati* 'move about, pasture,' Gk. *πέλομαι* 'move,' Lat. *colō* 'inhabit, cultivate,' Av. *carāna* 'field,' Gk. *τέλος* 'end, limit (i. e., 'the place to which one goes or where one turns, as in Lat. *terminus* and others) dignity; troop,' OChSl. *kolēno*, Skt. *kulam* 'family, community,' OIr. *cland* 'clan' (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*); Skt. *valgati* 'spring,' OE. *wealcan* 'roll,' *ge-wealcan* 'traverse,' Lat. *volgus* 'people.'

5. The IE. *pěu-*, *pū-*, rot, stink' and *pěu-*, *pū-* 'cleanse' are doubtfully connected by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *πύω*. Of the root *pū* 'rot' Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>, says: "Die Grundbedeutung von der idg. Wz. *pū* war 'den Geruch der Verwesung von sich geben.'" Did then our IE. ancestors, when they first described putrefaction, use a word that already meant 'putrefy?' Certainly not. The term used was descriptive, and only by usage came to mean what it does. This remark is of the widest application. It involves a principle that is at the very base of semasiological development.

The root *pū-*, as we see from Lat. *pūs*, Gk. *πῦον* 'pus,' *πῦέω* 'cause to suppurate,' etc., had a development similar to that of the root *rud-* 'break out:' 'ulcerate, rot.' Primarily *pěu-*, *pū-* 'suppurate, rot' meant 'spring out:' 'issue, flow.' Consequently this is the same root as *pū-* 'cleanse,' primarily with water but secondarily in any way. Since *pū* meant

'spring out,' it gave various words for 'fire;' for words for 'fire,' 'burn' are regularly formed from such terms. Thus we have Gk. *πῦρ*, OHG. *fuir*; Goth. *fu-nins*, Skt. *pāva-ká-s*. These words do not necessarily go back to IE. time. Of course the root *pū-* does, but more than that cannot be affirmed. In any case 'fire' was described as 'springing out.' This gives also 'shine, be bright' as in Lat. *pūrus* 'clear, bright' (sun). Lat. *pūrus* therefore contains both the ideas 'cleansed, washed' and 'shining, bright.' Another idea of cleansing is seen in Skt. *pávana-s* 'purifying wind,' *pávana-m* 'winnowing-fan' and in OHG. *fowen* 'sift,' ('winnow'). In this sense the root gave Gk. *πῦρός* 'wheat,' Lith. *purai*, etc.; or the word may be compared directly with Lat. *pūrus*, just as *wheat* is related to *white*. Cf. Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 483.

From *pū-* 'spring out, issue' come several words for 'offspring, issue.' Examples are: Skt. *pu-trá-s* 'child,' son, whelp,' *pō-ta-* 'whelp,' Lith. *paú-ta-s* 'egg,' *pu-týtis* 'chicken,' OChSl. *pu-ta* 'chicken,' Lat. *pu-tus* 'boy,' *pu-er* 'boy,' *pu-llus* < \**pulno-* 'young animal, chicken, sprout, shoot' (Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 249), Goth. *fula* 'foal,' etc.

From *pū-* 'spring out, flow' come Lat. *pu-teus* 'well,' Lith. *putà*, Lett. *putas* 'foam,' Gk. *πῦρος*, *πῦετια* 'first milk, beestings.' Closely connected with this idea is *pū* 'suppurate, rot.'

From *pū* 'flow' come Lett. *pups* 'female breast,' Ir. *ucht* < \**puptu-* (Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, II, 55). Of the same origin are several words for 'buttocks.' For this development of meaning compare IE. \**orsos*, Gk. *όρρος*, etc., from the root *erso-* 'flow;' Gk. *πρωκτός* 'anus:' *πρωξ* 'drop,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* Similarly OE. *bæc*, ON., OS. *bak*, OHG. *bah* 'back,' which Persson, *Wz.* 190, refers to Lith. *bégti* 'run,' Gk. *φέβομαι* 'fear,' *φόβη* 'mane, hair' Skt. *bhaj-* 'go, flee,' and which Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *Backe*, connects with OHG. *bahho* 'ham, bacon,' etc., are probably also related to OHG. *bah*, OS. *beki* 'brook,' etc. In like manner we may derive *breech*, *breeches*, OE. *brēc*, OHG. *bruoh*, etc., from pre-Germ.

\**bhrōgo-*, \**bhrōgi-*, root *bhrēg-* 'break,' to which *brook* belongs. In that case the Gallo-Lat. *brāca* is from the Germ. as Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>, supposes.

We may therefore safely refer to *pū-* 'spring, flow' the following: Gk. *πύννος* ὁ *πρωκτός* (Hes.) < \**πυστνο-*, Skt. *putāu* 'buttocks,' MHG. *vut*, ON. *fuð* 'cunnus' (Brugm., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 659), base *pu-to-*; Gk. *πῦγή* 'rump,' with which compare Skt. *púccha-* 'tail' < \**puk-skō-*, base *pū-go-*. Goth. *fauhō* 'fox,' which is commonly connected with Skt. *púccha-* (cf. Persson, *Wz.* 23; Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *Fuchs*; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *fauhō*) I should combine rather with Gk. *πυκνός* 'close, secret, concealed, wise, shrewd, crafty.' Germ. *fohō*, *fohs* meant therefore 'the crafty one,' a very fitting appellation for the fox, and ON. *fox* 'deceit' from pre-Germ. \**puk(e)s-* was primarily 'secrecy, deceit' not 'foxiness.' The base *pu-ko-* in these words was probably from the root *pū-* as we shall see below.—To this group we may also add Skt. *pu-nar* 'back' (adv.), Gk. *πύματος* 'hindmost.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*

Of the same origin as *pěu-* 'spring, flow' is *pěu-* 'strike,' i. e., 'cause to spring.' The two significations are simply the intransitive and the transitive use of the same verb of motion. Compare the following:

Skt. *galati* 'drip, fall,' OHG. *quellan* 'gush out:' Gk. *βάλλω* 'throw, hit, strike, wound;' Skt. *sṛjāti* 'pour out:' 'throw,' *sarga* 'stream:' 'shot;' Skt. *sīsarti* 'flow:' 'run, rush,' Gk. *όρμη* 'assault, attack;' Skt. *dhāvati* 'stream, pour:' 'run,' *dhūnōti* 'shake,' Gk. *θύω* 'rush;' Lat. *fundō* 'pour out:' 'cast, hurl;' Goth. *rign* 'rain:' cf. Skt. *íghāvan* 'raging, stormy,' *ṛghāyati* 'rage, tremble,' Gk. *όρχέω* 'shake,' *όρχέομαι* 'leap, dance,' root *oregh-:* *orgh-:* *regh-*; Lith. *pilti* 'pour:' Lat. *pellō* 'drive, strike;' Lat. *pluit* 'it rains,' Gk. *πλέω* 'sail,' *πλύνω* 'wash:' 'beat;' OE. *fleotan* 'float, flow,' E. *fleet, flit*, etc.: Lat. *plaudo* < \**plūy-do-* 'beat;' G. *worpen* 'rolling waves,' OE. *ge-weorp* 'surf:' 'a tossing, throwing,' *weorpan* 'throw,' root *uer-* 'turn, twist, hurl:' OHG. *wele,*

OE. *wlæc* ‘moist,’ primarily ‘rolling out, gushing forth,’ Lett. *wélgans* ‘moist,’ etc. (Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>): OHG. *walkan* ‘beat,’ ON. *valka* ‘roll, move back and forth;’ OHG. *wella* ‘wave,’ *wallan* ‘bubble, spout:’ *wallōn* ‘wander’ (Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *wallen*<sup>2</sup>); Lat. *fer-veō* ‘boil:’ Skt. *bhuráti* ‘stir, jerk, struggle,’ Lat. *feriō* ‘strike;’ OChSl. *rināti* ‘flow:’ ‘thrust.’

To this list we may safely add *pēu-* ‘spring forth, flow:’ *pēu-* ‘strike, cut.’ Here then belong Lat. *paviō*, Gk. *παίω* ‘strike’ from *\*pəu-jo-*, Lith. *piáuju* ‘cut, mow’ from *\*pēu-jo-*. Cf. Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 470. From *pēu-* come the enlarged roots *peu-ko-*, *peu-go-* ‘thrust, pierce, strike’ in Gk. *πευκάλιμος* ‘sharp, piercing,’ *πυγμή* ‘fist,’ Lat. *pungo*, etc. From ‘strike, pierce’ come ‘compact, close; sharp, shrewd’ in Gk. *πυκνός*. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *πύκα*. Here also belongs Lat. *putō* ‘cut off, trim, consider, think,’ base *pu-to-* ‘cut.’ Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, II, 1126.

6. Lat. *foeteo* ‘stink,’ base *bhoi-to-*, may well be referred to the root *bhă-bhēj-* ‘thrust, strike, cut’ in OChSl. *biti* ‘strike,’ *φιτρός* ‘piece of wood,’ OHG. *bīhal*, OE. *bill* ‘ax.’ Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *φῖμός*; Brugm., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 636. Here also, with Prellwitz, I should add Lat. *foedus* < *\*bhoi-do-* ‘foul, filthy, horrible,’ from the same root as in Lat. *findō* ‘split,’ Goth. *beitan* ‘bite,’ *baitrs* ‘bitter,’ etc. Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *bitter*.

The strong or foul odor is here described in terms of the sense of feeling. (Cf. Bechtel, *SW.* 57.) Thus we may speak of odors as sharp, pungent, penetrating, offensive.

7. Lith. *smirdēti* ‘stink,’ *smárvē*, stench,’ OChSl. *smrūdēti* ‘stink,’ *smradū* ‘stench, filth,’ Lat. *merda* ‘dung,’ base *smerdo-* (Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 576) may be further connected with Gk. *σμερδνός*, *σμερδαλέος* ‘terrible,’ OHG. *smerzo* ‘pain,’ OE. *smeart* ‘painful,’ etc. (Persson, *Wz.* 65). These may all be referred to the root *smer-* ‘rub,’ from which develops ‘rub,’ ‘smear,’ ‘befoul,’ ‘stink,’ and ‘rub,’ ‘crush,’ ‘pain,’ etc. The first set of meanings is found also in OHG. *smero* ‘grease,’ Goth. *smairþr* ‘fatness,’ *smarna* ‘dung,’ etc.

8. ON. *hnykr* 'stench, filth,' pre-Germ. \**qnu-go-*, Skt. *knūyatē* 'be damp, stink' have probably developed through the ideas 'rub,' 'smear,' 'befoul,' etc., as in *smerdo-*. We may therefore refer these words to the root *qnă-*, *qnăyo-* in Gk. *κνύω* 'scratch, scrape,' ON. *hnyggja* 'beat,' etc. (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 134.) Though these are reducible to the root *qnē-*, *qeno-*, from which come Icel. *hniss*, *hnīta*, etc. (cf. above), from the base *qnăd-*, the development of meaning is not the same.

Other words for smell which are only specializations of a general term of sense-perception are not considered here. That would lead us too far, since almost any general term of sense-perception may be restricted in this way. Thus, we perceive, observe, notice, are aware of, odors, and occasionally such general expressions may become fixed in the sense 'smell.' So E. *scent* as compared with Fr. *sentir*, Lat. *sentire*. But for the most part words for 'smell' are from terms descriptive of smoke or odor or putrefaction. In words for 'see,' however, the case is different. There is nothing to describe except the attitude or appearance of the person looking. But this, as we shall see, is an important factor, for from such a description come many words for 'see.'

#### B. SEMASIOLOGY OF EXPRESSIONS FOR 'SIGHT.'

Seeing in the sense of ocular perception is, in the very nature of the case, a secondary development of meaning. One large group is composed of words whose meanings have been specialized from general terms of sense-perception. The underlying ideas of this group are therefore manifold. When traced to their original significations they are found to mean grasp, aim at, turn, stretch toward, seek, be alert, active, watchful, etc. Thus with the eye we perceive, discern, distinguish, make out, discover, descry, scan, examine, scrutinize, notice, mark, watch, regard, behold, etc. Such expressions for seeing occur in all periods and are sometimes restricted in

usage to ocular perception. Thus E. *behold* compared with Gk. *behalten*. Other examples of such restricted usage are: Gk. ἀτενίζω ‘gaze at:’ ἀτενής ‘stretched’ (Prellwitz); Lat. *contemplor* ‘gaze at:’ Lith. *tempiu* ‘stretch’ (Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 443); Lith. *matýti* ‘see:’ Lett. *matít* ‘feel, notice,’ Gk. ματεύω ‘seek’ (Prellwitz); Skt. *bódhati* ‘be awake: notice, perceive;’ Lat. *animadvertiso* ‘turn the mind to, attend to: see;’ Lat. *tueor* ‘gard: regard, look at’ (cf. Bechtel, *Sinnl. Wahrn.* 163); τηρέω ‘guard, watch: look at intently;’ Lat. *sentiō, percipiō*, etc. Words for seeing, therefore, may be as various in their origin as there are different ways of expressing sense-perception. Examples of this character are given under nos. 1 to 16. Besides these there are other verbs for ‘look, see’ which describe a certain expression of countenance and then, by implication, mean look with such an expression. Examples under 17 to 20. No hard and fast line, however, can be drawn between these two classes.

1. Goth. *saihwan*, OHG. *sehan*, OE. *sēon*, ON. *sjā* ‘see’ are from an IE. root *seq<sup>4</sup>-*, in regard to which opinions differ. We find the root *seq<sup>4</sup>-* with four principal meanings: (1) ‘point out, show;’ (2) ‘see;’ (3) ‘say;’ (4) ‘follow.’ I know of no one who connects them all. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *sagen*, connects (1) and (3), and s. v. *sehen*, (2) and (4). Brugmann, *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 601, combines (1), (2), and (3). The old comparison between *seq<sup>4</sup>-* ‘see’ and *seq<sup>4</sup>-* ‘follow’ is doubted by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *saihwan*, and seems to be abandoned by Brugmann. As to the identity of these two roots I have not the least doubt, though I do not connect their meanings in the usual way. And yet the old explanation of ‘see’ as ‘to follow with the eye’ is not without parallel. Gk. ἐπομαι is used in the sense of ‘perceive with the intellect, understand.’ In the same sense we use *follow*. Compare ‘I cannot follow his arguments,’ ‘I cannot understand his arguments,’ ‘I cannot see his arguments.’ We might therefore assume the development ‘follow:’ ‘understand, perceive:’ ‘see.’ Compare Gk. ἡγέομαι ‘lead, guide,’

Goth. *sōkjan* 'seek,' Lat. *sāgiō* 'perceive quickly.' From such a meaning, 'see' could easily come, as in Gk. *ματεύω* 'seek:' Lith. *matýti* 'see.'

However, I should explain the relation between these roots differently. I regard 'point out, show' as the primary meaning of the root *seq<sup>u</sup>-* in its various significations. The development was: (1) 'point out, show:' 'see'; (2) 'show:' 'say'; (3) 'show:' 'guide, attend, follow.' These are found in OChSl. *sočiti* 'anzeigen,' Lat. *sīgnūm* 'zeichen, token;' Goth. *saihwān* 'see;,' Lith. *sakýti*, OHG. *sagēn* 'say,' Gk. *ἐν-έπω* 'say, mention,' Lat. *in-sectiōnēs* 'narrations' (with which compare OE. *in-siht* 'narrative'); Gk. *ἔπομαι*, Skt. *sácatē*, Lat. *sequor* 'attend, follow,' *socius* 'attendant,' OE. *seeg* 'man.'

For similar development of meanings compare Gk. *φράζω* 'point out, show; speak, tell, declare; notice, watch, observe, keep in one's eye, see;,' Skt. *dīcāti* 'point, direct, show,' Gk. *δείκνυμι* 'point out, show, explain,' Lat. *dīcō*; OHG. *sinnan* 'go, travel, endeavor, think,' Lat. *sentiō* 'feel, perceive, see.' Such examples show plainly that there is no semasiological reason for dividing the root *seq<sup>u</sup>-* 'point out, show; see; say; follow.'

This root, which we may give as *se-q<sup>u</sup>o-*, meaning in its functions as adjective, noun, and verb 'pointing, pointer, point out,' is perhaps a derivative of the pronominal stem *so-*. The demonstrative or deictic pronouns are eminently suitable to form words signifying 'point out,' 'show,' 'see,' 'say,' etc. If we wish to call attention to an object, how can it be more simply done than by saying 'there?' This is the explanation of Goth. *sai*, OHG. *sē*, *sē-nu* 'behold! see!' from *\*so-id.* (Cf. Osthoff, *PBB.*, VIII, 311 ff.) Similarly to the deictic pronoun *eno-*, *ono-* Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 366, refers Gk. *ἴην*, Lat. *ēn* 'behold!' and to the same stem belong Gk. *ὄνομα-μα*, Lat. *nō-men*, Goth. *na-man*, etc., 'name,' and Gk. *ὄνομα-ματ* 'blame, scorn,' etc., primarily 'point out, point at,' like G.

*bezeichnen, anzeigen, zeihen.* Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. W.* s. v. *ὄνομα, ὄνομαι.*

2. Gk. *εἶδον* ‘saw,’ Lat. *videō*, OChSl. *viděti* ‘see,’ Goth. *witan*, *-aida*, ‘watch, give heed to,’ OHG. *ga-wizēn*, etc., contain the IE. root *ueid-*, *uoid-*, which is also in Goth. *wait*, Gk. *οἶδα*, Skt. *vēda*, ‘know,’ etc. These are further compared with Skt. *vindāti* ‘find, get hold of, obtain,’ to which I should add the Germ. verb *wītan* ‘go’ in OS. *gi-wītan* ‘go,’ Hild. 18 *gi-weit* ‘went,’ OE. *ge-wītan* ‘go, depart, die.’ To the root *ueid-* in this sense belong OHG. *wisan* ‘guide, lead, teach, show,’ primarily ‘cause to go,’ ON. *vīsa* ‘direct, show,’ OHG. *wīsa* ‘way, manner.’

Now these and related words show the following development: ‘go, go after, go to; reach, obtain, find, get hold of, grasp; comprehend, perceive, know, see.’ It is evident from the various developed meanings of this root that ‘know’ did not mean ‘having seen,’ but that ‘see’ and ‘know’ are both from the more general idea ‘comprehend, perceive,’ and that this depends on the earlier signification ‘go, go to, reach.’ In Germ. this primary meaning is especially prominent. Compare OS. *gi-wītan* ‘go;’ Goth. *ga-weisōn* ‘go to, look after, visit;’ *witan* (‘go to’) ‘pay attention to, give heed to, look after;’ *-weitan* ‘pay attention to, punish;’ OHG. *wīsan* (‘cause to go’) ‘guide, show;’ Goth. *-weis* ‘expertus, erfahren, bewandert;’ *wait* ‘know,’ cf. Goth. *lais* ‘know,’ MHG. *leise* ‘trace, track,’

The root *uei-d-* is together with many others possibly an outgrowth of the root *uei-* in Skt. *vēti* ‘seek, strive to get, fall upon,’ to which perhaps also Lat. *via* belongs.

3. Gk. *όπαω* ‘watch, see,’ *φροντά < \*προ-όρα* ‘a guarding’ is usually referred to the root *uero-* ‘guard’ in Goth. *war* ‘cautious,’ OE. *wær*, etc. But on account of the rough breathing of the Gk. words, they should rather be compared with Umbr. *seritu* ‘servato,’ *anzeria-* ‘observe,’ Lat. *servō* ‘protect, watch, observe,’ from the bases *sero-*, *seruo-*.

These then belong to the root *sero-* 'schützen' given by Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 562. On the same page Fick gives *sero-* 'gehen, strömen' and *sero-* 'reihen.' These three roots are the same as can be shown. Primarily *sero-* meant 'go, run, move.' This in its transitive sense would be 'set in motion, move on, extend, string out.' This secondary meaning of *sero-* when transitive is found in Lat. *serō* 'string out, string together, join, combine, compose, contrive,' *series* ('a stringing together') 'row, succession, line,' *sors*, *sor-ti-s* ('a casting') 'lot,' etc. (but not Gk. *εἰρπω* 'string, join together,' etc.). To this root Goth. *sarwa* 'armor' < pre-Germ. \**sorwo-* has been referred. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, declares arbitrarily that this is impossible. I assert that it is quite possible and very probable. If we turn to Lat. *serō* we shall find, among others, the definitions 'join together, plait, interweave; combine, compose, contrive, make, prepare.' Under OE. *searo* are given in Sweet, *Dict. of AS.*, 'armor, arms, machine, work of skill; device, skill, contrivance, cunning, treachery.' I have rearranged the definitions as given by Sweet. The first set represent the literal meaning of \**sorwo-* 'a joining together, something put together, woven.' It is quite possible that the armor meant was originally a woven or plaited shield. ON. *sorve* 'string of beads' also preserves the literal meaning. In the second set of definitions given above the word is used figuratively as in Lat. *serō* 'contrive.' So also in OE. *sierwan* 'devise, plot, conspire.'

As we have just seen in Lat. *series* how the signification 'row, line' arose, so we may assume the same development for Gk. *ὅπος*, Dor. *ὅρφος* 'boundary, limit, frontier,' *ὅρίζω* 'mark out, limit, bound.' From this easily comes 'enclose,' whence 'protect, guard, watch, observe, see,' as in Umbr. *seritu*, Lat. *servō*, Gk. *όράω*.

Lith. *sérgéti* 'guard,' *sírgas* 'watcher' and *sergù*, *sírgti* 'be sick,' primarily 'confined, shut in' are from the base *ser-go-* (or *ser-gho-*), and should not be compared directly with Lat. *servō* (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 601), and much less with Goth.

*saurga*, OHG. *sworga*, *sorga* ‘care,’ pre-Germ. *suer-go-* or *suer-gho-*.

4. Goth. *gaumjan* ‘see, perceive, observe, attend to,’ ON. *geyma*, OE. *gīeman* ‘take care of,’ OHG. *goumjan*, *goumōn*, OS. *gōmian* ‘attend to, wait on, entertain’ (as host), *fargūmon*, OE. *for-gīeman* ‘not heed, neglect’ are based on ON. *gaumr* ‘attention,’ OHG. *gouma* ‘close attention, entertainment, feast,’ OS. *gōma* ‘feast.’ (Cf. Balg, *Cpv. Gloss.* s. v. *gaumjan*.)

These words are not, as I have shown in *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4, to be referred to OChSl. *umă* ‘intelligence’ (so Johansson, *PBB*. 15, 228), but are rather from pre-Germ. *g<sup>u</sup>hū-*, *g<sup>u</sup>hou-* (or perhaps *g<sup>u</sup>hāu-*) and are next akin to Lat. *faveō*, *faustus* ‘protect, favor,’ Lith. *gausus* ‘abundant,’ OChSl. *govēti* ‘revere, worship, venerate, respect,’ OSorb. *hović* ‘be serviceable, favor.’ (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 600.)

OE. *gorettan* ‘gaze, stare’ is possibly from the same root, pre-Germ. \**g<sup>u</sup>hus-adio-*. Compare Lat. *faus-tus*, Lith. *gaus-us*. For a different explanation see below, no. 18.

5. OHG. *spehōn* ‘spähen,’ *spāhi* ‘discerning,’ Lat. *speciō* ‘look at, behold,’ Skt. *spaç-* ‘watcher,’ *spaṣṭā-* ‘visible, plain,’ *pagyati* ‘behold, perceive,’ Av. *spasyēti* ‘see,’ OChSl. *paziti* ‘give heed to’ (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 725) contain a base *spē-ko-* whose primary meaning must be sought outside of the words given above. This base is probably derived from the root *sepo-* in Gk. *ἐπω* ‘busy over,’ *ἀμφι-ἐπω* ‘be busy about, wait on, care for, guard,’ *δι-ἐπω* ‘drive about, sway,’ *μεθ-ἐπω* ‘attend to,’ Skt. *sápati* ‘attend, follow, serve,’ *saparyáti* ‘serve, honor.’ (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*) The derived root *spē-ko-* therefore meant ‘attending to, watching, guarding,’ and hence ‘watching, looking at, seeing.’ Perhaps to *sepo-* belong also Goth. *sifan* ‘rejoice’ and OE. *sefa* ‘mind.’

6. OE. *lōcian*, OS. *lōkon* ‘look, see’ < pre-Germ. \**lōqn-* (Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 384), OHG. *luogēn* ‘lügen’ have been compared with Skt. *laksayati* ‘notice, perceive.’ (Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *lugen*.) But this does not give us the primary

meaning. For that we must look for a root *leg-* used in a concrete sense. We come one step nearer to the primary meaning by comparing Skt. *rākṣati* 'ward off, protect, guard, watch,' Gk. ἀλέξω 'turn away, ward off, defend,' ἀλαλκεῖν 'ward off,' OE. *ealgian* 'protect.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *alhs*; and for this connection, author *JGPh.*, II, 229.) The root *legs-* 'turn away, ward off, guard' is undoubtedly from *leg-* 'turn aside, bend:' Gk. λοξός 'oblique,' λέκος 'pot,' Lith. *linkti* 'bend,' etc. (Cf. Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 535.) The development in meaning is therefore 'turn aside, ward off, guard, watch, behold, look.'

7. G. *gewahren, wahrnehmen* 'perceive, see,' MHG. *war nemen*, OS. *wara nemen* 'give heed to, perceive,' MHG. *warn*, OHG. *biwarōn*, OS. *warōn* 'give heed to, notice, guard, provide with,' OE. *warian* 'guard, watch over, guard against, ward off,' Goth. *war* 'cautious,' OE. *wær*, etc., contain a widespread Germ. root *war-* 'guard, watch, heed.' The same root is also in OE. *warnian* 'beware of, warn, refrain,' OHG. *warnōn* 'beware of, guard against, warn,' ON. *varna* 'refuse.' Of these Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *warnen* says: "Sichere Beziehungen sind noch nicht gefunden." If it is not certain that OHG.-*warōn* and *warnōn* are from the same root, then nothing in linguistics can be certain. It would be interesting to know on what semasiological principles these words are declared unrelated.

The same root is also in Goth. *warjan* 'forbid, hinder,' OE. *werian* 'defend, ward off,' ON. *verja* 'protect, defend,' OS., OHG. *werian* 'hinder, defend,' Gk. ἔρυσθαι 'guard, watch, draw, hinder, save,' ρύουμαι 'protect, save,' Skt. *varūtlá̄r* 'protector,' Lith. *veriù* 'close, open,' Av. *var-* 'cover, check,' Skt. *vṛṇōti* 'cover, surround, check, defend.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ἔρυσθαι*; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *warjan*.

To the root *uero-* in Goth. *war* are generally referred Gk. οὐρός 'watcher,' ὄρουμαι 'watch.' These I admit, but not οὐάω. The root *uero-* did not mean primarily 'look at,' nor 'guard,' but probably 'turn.' At least this is the significa-

tion that is most common and the one from which the others are most easily derived. Now from the primary meaning ‘turn’ come ‘turn in, enclose’ and ‘turn off, ward off, defend.’ For this double development compare Lith. *veriu* ‘close, open,’ and Gk. *εἰργω* < \**yer-gō* ‘shut in, confine, enclose, bound ; shut out, drive off, hinder, abstain from,’ Lat. *vergō* ‘turn, bend,’ Skt. *vṛj-* ‘turn, twist off, turn aside, avoid, leave out, exclude.’ So throughout the simple root *yro-* we find regularly developed meanings from ‘turn in’ or ‘turn away.’ From which of these a particular meaning may come it is not always possible to say. Thus ‘guard’ may mean primarily ‘enclose, surround’ or ‘ward off, defend.’ So ‘forbid,’ ‘hinder,’ ‘check’ are capable of a double explanation.

From *yro-* ‘turn’ come the following: Goth. *wardja* ‘watchman,’ OHG. *warto*, etc., from ‘turn in, enclose, guard ;’ OE. *worþ* ‘enclosure, courtyard, farm,’ OS. *wurð* ‘boden,’ OE. *wryndan* ‘found’ (a house); Goth. *wairdus* ‘wirt,’ perhaps in the sense of ‘holder, possessor,’ cf. OE. *warian* ‘guard, inhabit, possess ;’ Lat. *vertō* ‘turn,’ Goth. *wairþan* ‘werden,’ base *yer-to-*; Goth. *wairpan* ‘werfen,’ base *yer-bo-* ‘turn, twist, throw’ (cf. OE. *þrāwan* ‘twist :’ E. *throw*), OE. *wyrp* ‘recovery’ (‘return, turn for the better,’ cf. Gk. *νέομαι* ‘return :’ Goth. *ganisan* ‘recover’), cf. Lat. *verb-era* ‘blows,’ Lith. *virbas* ‘rod, twig,’ *virbinis* ‘snare,’ Gk. *ῥάβδος* ‘sprout, rod’ (Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*); OE. *weorc* ‘pain, grief, work,’ OHG. *werk*, Gk. *ἔργον* ‘work,’ etc., base *yer-go-* ‘turn, twist, writhe, suffer, work,’ also in OE. *wærce* ‘pain ;’ ON. *ver* ‘sea,’ *ür* ‘dampness,’ OE. *wær*, *ear* ‘sea,’ Skt. *vār* ‘water,’ Gk. *οὐρέω*, etc. (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*), base *yro-* ‘turn, roll, flow,’ from which *yer-go-* in Gk. *ὅργας* ‘well-watered spot, teeming, fertile,’ *ὅργη* ‘passion, anger,’ *ὅργάω* ‘swell with moisture, be excited ;’ Lith. *virti*, OChSl. *variti* ‘cook,’ *varū* ‘heat,’ to which perhaps belong OHG. *warm*, etc. (Bezzenberger, *BB.* 16, 257), closely connected with ON. *ver* ‘sea,’ etc. (cf. OE. *weallan* ‘boil, be hot, flow, go in waves, be agitated’); Goth. *waurts* ‘root,’ OE. *wyrt* ‘wort,’ etc., base

*uer-do-* ‘turn, roll, swell, grow’ (cf. Goth. *walus* ‘staff:’ -*walujan* ‘roll,’ and Gk. *ῥάβδος* ‘shoot, rod:’ Goth. *wairpan* ‘throw,’ E. *warp*, etc. v. supra); Goth. *wrijus*, OE. *wræþ* ‘herd,’ Skt. *vrāta-*, *vrā* ‘troop,’ *uero-* ‘turn, confine,’ with which compare Skt. *vrājā-* ‘troop, band,’ *vrajā-* ‘troop, band; fold, stall,’ *vrjāna-* ‘enclosure; community, people,’ *várūtha-* ‘protection; herd, troop.’ So E. *band* ‘something to bind with,’ and ‘company, troop.’

To *uero-* ‘turn, twist,’ whence ‘fasten, bind, tie,’ etc., I should refer Gk. *εἵρω* ‘tie, bind, fasten together,’ *ἔρμένος* ‘bound.’ These are usually compared with Lat. *serō* (v. supra), but phonetically they are more easily explained as here given, and in meaning cause no difficulty. Compare OE. *wriþan* ‘twist: bind;’ Gk. *λυγίζω* ‘bend, twist:’ OE. *lūcan* ‘interlace, join together, close, shut.’ That *εἵρω* and *serō* are synonymous is no evidence whatever that they are cognate unless it can be shown that *εἵρω* is from *\*seriō*, which I do not believe. If then *εἵρω* ‘join’ is from *\*ueriō*, it is phonetically identical with *εἱρω* ‘speak.’ For this root *uero-*, which is also in Lat. *verbum*, Goth. *waurd* ‘word,’ Lith. *vardas* ‘name,’ etc., we may therefore assume the development ‘turn, twist, join together, converse, speak.’ (Compare Lat. *serō* ‘join together:’ *sermō* ‘speech.’) The root *uero-* ‘join together, agree, speak,’ is also in Gk. *ῥήτρα* ‘agreement,’ Cypr. *Ῥητά*, and in Gk. *εἰρήνη* ‘peace’ (Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*) if this is from *\*euerē-nā*. With this *uero-*, *urē-* of the Gk. compare the *uēr-* of the Germ. in OE. *wēr* ‘agreement, treaty, promise, faith, fidelity, friendship.’ This is, of course, the same as OE. *wēr* ‘true,’ OHG., OS. *wär*, OIr. *fīr*, Lat. *vērus* ‘true,’ OChSl. *vēra* ‘faith,’ Goth. *tuz-wērjan* ‘doubt,’ OHG. *wārjan* ‘verify,’ etc., Goth. *un-wērjan* ‘be displeased,’ primarily ‘disagree,’ *un-wērei* ‘indignation’ (‘disagreement’). With the above explanation of the IE. *uēro-* ‘joining together, agreeing, faithful, true,’ the “auffallende bedeutungsentwicklung” of Goth. *\*unwērs* (Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*) is entirely cleared up. Uhlenbeck and Kluge should

also have given in their *Et. Wbb.* ON. *vārr* ‘gentle, friendly’ (‘agreeing, agreeable’), of which Goth. \**unwērs* is the negative. Cf. Balg, *Cpv. Gloss.* s. v. \**wērs*.

The natural conclusion from the above comparisons is that the roots *uero-*, *uer-to-*, *uer-do-*, *uer-dho-*, *uer-go-*, etc., in all of which the primary meaning ‘turn’ can be traced, are one in origin. From *uero-*, *urē-* are also formed, with the suffixes *-io-* and *uo-*, the roots *urē-jo-*, *uri-*; *urē-uo-*, *urū-*. These are the bases of other formations, as *urē-to-*, *urēi-do-*, etc. Hence it is possible, indeed probable, that all IE. roots beginning with *uero-* or an ablaut thereof are derivatives of the root *uero-* ‘turn.’ Of course I do not include analogical formations or later sporadic words. By sporadic words I mean words that are composed of sound-elements which, from association, express a certain idea. Common speech is full of such words, and from time to time some of them become a part of the language. (Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP.* 16, 409 ff.) But aside from such formations I believe we are justified in assuming that “words of the same phonetic composition are presumably cognate,” and that it is the form and not the meaning that should decide whether or not words are related. For it is certain that the meaning of a root is not an inherent and inseparable part of it. Indeed it is impossible to fix the original meaning of a root. The most that can be done is to establish the common idea from which the various significations have diverged. But the starting point—no, that is lost in the darkness of the past. When, therefore, I speak of the original or primary signification of the root *uero-*, I mean only the common idea from which the various meanings have sprung. But this common idea, loosely expressing a certain thought, may be the generalization of a particular term. And this process may be repeated again and again. Thus G. *schenken* ‘give, present’ is a generalization of ‘give to drink, pour out;’ and ‘pour out’ is a generalization of ‘pour from cup’ (OE. *scene* ‘cup,’ etc.); and this word for ‘cup’ is a generalization from some other term descriptive of a hollow

bone or shell, pre-Germ. \**skongjo-* or *skonghnjo-*, Lat. *congius* 'measure for liquids,' Skt. *çankha-s* 'shell,' etc. Cf. author, *Am. Germ.*, II, no. 4. Hence it follows that we must rely upon the phonetic composition of a word to determine its derivation, not upon its meaning. But the various meanings are important in enabling us to find out the common point of divergence; and the greater the variety, the more easily is this point found.

Now a root of the form *yrejto-* is so evidently the result of repeated composition, and words of this type are so easily derived from a simpler root *yro-*, that it is hard to escape from the conviction that the root-form *yro-* is the base of the others. Hence OE. *wrīpan* 'twist, bind' as well as *wrīdan*, *wrīban* 'grow' (that is 'turn, become, change, grow'), pre-Germ. *wrej-to- < wrē-jo- + -to-*, are from the simple root *yro-*, just as Lat. *vertō* is from *yer-to-*. In each case the derivative becomes the base of new formations.

If etymologists would follow the method here indicated, they would be surprised at the ease with which words may be traced. And this ease is not secured at the cost of disregarding phonetic laws or of violating the principles of psychology. I venture to say that, if the exact phonetic composition of a word is known, there will be little left to explain. For example G. *reiben* from the Germ. root *wrīb-*, which Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>, says has not been found, is probably from a pre-Germ. base *wrī-po-*, and may be compared with Gk. *ρίπτω* 'throw.' Both are easily explained from the primary meaning 'turn.' For 'turn : ' throw' compare G. *drehen*: E. *throw*; Lat. *torqueo* 'turn, twist : ' hurl, throw,' etc. The meaning 'turn, twist, plait' is implied in *ρίψις*, *ρίπτ-ός* 'wicker-work, mat,' *ρίπτος* 'mat, wicker-hurdle,' and various secondary meanings in *ρίπνη* 'swing, rush, whir, twinkling light' (of stars), etc. With these compare OHG. (*w)riban*, MHG. *riben* 'turn, rub (so still in Bav. *reiben* 'reiben, wenden, drehen'), dance (whirl, toss about), be lascivious,' ODu., MLG. *wrīven* 'rub,' ON. *rīfa* 'tear,' E. *rive*.

Here we have the development ‘turn, move back and forth, rub, scratch, tear.’ (Compare *tero-*, *trē-* ‘turn, rub, bore,’ Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *drehen*.)

The base *wri-* in Gk. *ρῖπος* (gen.), etc., is found in many other derivatives with similar meanings or at least with such as are derivable from ‘turn.’ Thus: Gk. *ρῖψη* ‘file,’ *ρῖνός* ‘hide,’ OHG. *rīzan* ‘tear, wound, write,’ OE. *writan* ‘engrave, write’ (Brugmann, *Grd.*, II, 1052), with which compare OE. *wrætt* < \**wraitjō-* ‘ornament, work of art;’ Gk. *ροικός* ‘crooked,’ *ρικνός* ‘bent, crooked,’ cf. ME. *wrie* ‘twist,’ E. *wry*, OE. *wrigian* ‘strive, tend toward,’ and also OHG. *-rihan*, OE. *wrēon* ‘wrap up, cover;’ Goth. *wraigs*, Gk. *ραιθός* ‘crooked,’ from \**wrei-gʷō-s*, etc. For further possibilities in analyzing the root *χερ-*, cf. Persson, *Wz.* 66, and the author, *Jour. Germ. Phil.*, I, 302 ff.

8. OE. *wlitan*, ON. *lita* ‘look,’ *leíta* ‘look for, search,’ OE. *wlítian* ‘look, gaze,’ Goth. *wlaitōn* ‘look round about’ from the Germ. base *wlít-*, which is also in Goth. *wlits* ‘face,’ OE. *wlīte* ‘brightness, beauty, form,’ OS. *wliti*, etc., I have elsewhere compared with Gk. *ἰλλίξω* ‘look awry, look askance, leer’ from \**χει-wlidiō* (*JGPh.*, I, 303). The base *ylid-* is extended from *uelo-*, *yl-* ‘turn’ with the suffix *-id-*, as in Gk. *ἔριδ*, *ἄσπιδ*, etc. (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, II, 383.) The base of *ἰλλίξω* is seen in *ἰλλίσ*, *ἰλλιδ-ος*, the fem. of *ἰλλός* ‘squinting’ < \**χει-uelo-*, from which *ἰλλαίνω* ‘squint.’

The development of meaning in Greek is ‘turn, look aside, squint;’ in Germ., ‘turn, look around, look at, look,’ from which ‘looks, appearance, beauty,’ etc. The verbal ablaut in Germ. is a growth from the basal form *ylid-* as it is seen in Germ. *wliti-* ‘appearance.’ For the meaning we may compare Lat. *vol-tus* ‘appearance,’ which may likewise be derived from the root *uelo-* ‘turn.’

The root *uelo-* is given by Fick, *VWb.*<sup>4</sup>, I, 551, as five distinct roots. These, however, are easily combined under one. To enumerate them as given by Fick, they are: (1) *uelo-* ‘wählen, wollen,’ primarily ‘turn toward, look for;’

(2) *uelo* 'drehen, wenden, umhüllen, umringen ;' (3) *uelo-* 'wallen' = 'turn, roll, boil, bubble ;' (4) *uelo-* 'drängen, zusammendrängen, versammeln,' another development of (2), 'drehen, zusammendrehen, zusammendrängen ;' (5) *uelo-* 'be-trügen' = 'verdrehen, distort, pervert.' So we may refer every word containing the root *uelo-* to this one root. Cf. author, *JGPh.*, I, 302 f.

9. OE. *be-scielan* < -\**sceolhjan* 'look at,' MHG. *schilhen*, *schilen* 'schielen :' OE. *sceolh* 'wry, oblique,' OHG. *scelah* 'crooked, oblique, squinting,' ON. *skjalgr* 'sloping, squinting' contain a pre-Germ. base *skel-q<sup>u</sup>o-* or *sqel-q<sup>u</sup>o-* which Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup>, s. v. *sheel*, compares, through a root *skel-*, with Gk. *σκολιός* 'crooked, bent.'

This root *skel-* or rather *sqelo-* I take to be identical with *sqelo-* 'cut, divide, separate' in ON. *skilja* 'split, separate,' Lith. *skeliù* 'split,' Gk. *σκάλλω* 'stir up, hoe.' The development in meaning is simple: 'cut, divide, separate, make slanting or crooked.' Likewise to the root *sqero-* 'cut, separate' in OHG. *sceran* 'shear, cut off,' Lith. *skiriù* 'cut, separate,' etc., we may refer Lith. *skeřsa-s* 'oblique, squinting,' Gk. *ἐπι-κάρσιος* 'crosswise, athwart.' (Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 581.)

10. Gk. *δεν-δίλλω* < -\**diliō* 'turn the eyes about, glance at, make a sign to' contains a base *di-lo-* 'turning, whirling, hastening,' which is also in OLG. *tilōn*, OHG. *zilōn* 'hasten,' OE. *tilian* 'strive after, intend, attempt, obtain,' OS. *tilian* 'erzielen,' Goth. *and-tilōn* 'cleave to' = 'turn to,' *ga-tils* 'fitting,' OE. *til* 'fitting, good, gentle,' OIr. *dil* 'agreeable' (which Uhlenbeck strangely enough disallows), ON., OE. *til* 'to' = 'turned toward' (cf. Goth. *-wairþs* '-ward,' Lat. *versus* 'toward,' root *uet-* 'turn'), OHG. *zila* 'line, row' = 'a turning,' cf. Lat. *versus* 'line, row.' These are referred to a root *dī-* (cf. Kluge, Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wbb.*) in OE. *tīma* 'fitting time, season, time,' ON. *tīme*, OE. *tīd* 'fitting time, time,' OS. *tīd*, OHG. *zit* 'zeit,' Skt. *ā-diti* 'unending' = 'unturning, interminis.'

This root *dī-* must have meant ‘turn, whirl: hasten.’ The ideas expressed by ‘whirl’ and ‘hasten’ are closely related. So E. *whirl* ‘turn rapidly, rotate: move hastily;’ OHG. *dweran* ‘whirl:’ Skt. *tváratē* ‘hasten.’ We may, therefore, compare Gk. δίνη, δίνως ‘vortex, whirlpool, eddy,’ δίνεύω, δίνέω ‘whirl, spin round, drive; wander,’ δίνόω ‘turn with a lathe, round,’ δίεμαι ‘hasten,’ Skt. *diyate* ‘soar, fly.’ Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* To this group we may add Goth. *tains* ‘twig, branch,’ ON. *teinn* ‘twig, spindle,’ OE. *tān* ‘twig, branch,’ OHG., MHG. *zein* ‘rod, reed, arrow,’ pre-Germ. \**doi-no-* ‘twisting, twisted,’ hence, like OE. *wīpig* ‘withe, withy,’ a flexible twig, vine, sprout. From \**doino-* came \**doinjā-* ‘made of withes,’ Goth. *tainjō* ‘basket,’ &c. Here also OHG. *zeinen, zeinōn* ‘point out,’ either directly from the meaning ‘turn toward’ or else primarily by divination. Compare OE. *tān* ‘twig used in casting lots,’ *tān-hlyta* ‘diviner.’ More directly connected in meaning are OHG. *zeinnan* ‘einen *zein* (metallstäbchen) machen,’ MHG. ‘beat out (*zein*), plait,’ ON. *teina* ‘in fila ducere.’

From ‘turn’ also come ‘rub, scratch, comb’ and ‘rub, caress.’ (Cf. *tero-* ‘turn:’ ‘rub.’) Here belong OHG. *zeiz* ‘tender, gentle,’ ON. *teitr*, OE. -*tūt* ‘cheerful, pleased,’ *tætan* ‘caress,’ primarily ‘rub,’ base \**doido-*; and OE. *tēsan* ‘card, comb (wool), pull to pieces, wound, soothe’ (once), OHG. *zeisan* ‘quarrel, card,’ OE. *ge-tēse* ‘pleasant, convenient.’ Germ. *taisa-* is perhaps from \**taissa-* < \**doid-to-*. The base \**doido-* probably arose by reduplication and may be also in Gk. δοίδ-νξ ‘pestle’ = ‘rubber, crusher.’

The root *dī-* appears in the sense ‘radiate, beam, shine,’ and is undoubtedly the same as *dī-* ‘whirl, move rapidly.’ (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. δίεμαι and δέαται.) Here we may give OE. *tīr*, OS. *tīr*, ON. *tīrr* ‘glory, honor’ < \**dei-ro-*, OHG. *zēri, ziari* ‘splendid, beautiful,’ *ziari* ‘splendor, beauty, ornament’ < \**dēi-riō-*, perhaps Lith. *dai-lūs* ‘beautiful;’ Skt. *dīdē-ti* ‘gleam, shine;’ OE. *tīber* ‘sacrifice, offering,’ OHG. *zebar* ‘opfertier,’ MHG. *ungezībere* ‘ungeziefer,’ base

\**dīp-rō-* 'burnt offering, animal for sacrifice:' Skt. *dīprā-* 'flaming,' *dīpyatē* 'flame, blaze, burn,' with which compare also Gk. δίψα 'thirst,' δίψιος 'parched, dry, thirsty,' δίψάω 'be parched, thirsty.'

Gk. δεν-δίλλω is especially interesting in its formation as it is composed of two synonymous roots *de-no-* + *di-lo-*. We have seen that *dī-lo-* is a derivative of *dī-*, that is *dě-jo-*. It is therefore among the possibilities that *dě-jo-* and *dě-no-* go back to a common root *dě-*. (So explained by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* δονέω.) The root *děno-* is seen in Gk. δονέω 'shake, agitate, stir,' δόναξ 'reed, arrow' (compare Gk. δῖνέω 'whirl:' Goth. *tains* 'twig'), ἀλί-δονος 'sea-tossed,' and perhaps in the first syllable of δέν-δρον 'tree.' Gk. δεν-δίλλω and δέν-δρον are types of compounds that are formed from synonymous roots. This may explain some cases of irregular reduplication. Compare Gk. δνο-παλίζω 'swing, fling about' with δονέω 'shake' and πάλλω 'shake, brandish;' δαρ-δάπτω 'devour' with δέρω 'flay' and δάπτω 'rend.' For other examples see Persson, *Wz.* 216.<sup>1</sup>

11. Lith. *regēti* 'perceive, look at' is compared by Bechtel, *Sinnl. Wahrn.* 158, with the Germ. root *rak-*, *rōk-* 'attend to, care for,' in OE. *reccan* 'care for, reck,' MHG. *ruochen*, OHG. *ruochan* 'direct attention to, care for, care, desire,' OS. *rōkjan*, ON. *rækja* 'care for.' This comparison, ignored by Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *geruhen*, is unimpeachable, for it shows the quite common development 'turn attention to, give heed to:' 'look at, see.' But 'turn attention to' is not the primary meaning, since no expression denoting a mental emotion can be original as such.

For this root *rēgo-*, therefore, I assume the primary meaning 'stretch out.' We have then the natural development: 'stretch out, give attention to,' from which 'see' or 'desire.' Compare from the root *rēgo-*, which is undoubtedly related and to which the Germ. forms could also go back, Gk. ὅρέγω 'stretch,' ὅρεκτός 'stretched out: longed for, desired;' G. *langen*: *verlangen*. Besides *rē-go-* and *rē-gó-* occurs *rē-qo-*

for which the same primary meaning may be assumed. These may all be referred to the primitive root *ero-*, *rē-* ‘go, move, extend.’ Compare OHG. *rāmēn* ‘aim at, have one’s eye on,’ OS. *rōmōn*, same, MHG. *rām* ‘aim, object,’ OE. *rōmian* ‘possess’ (i. e., ‘er-langen, er-zienlen’); Lat. *rē-rī* ‘reckon,’ Goth. *-rē-dan* ‘reflect upon, counsel,’ etc. (Brg., *Grd.*, II, 1047).

The various significations of the root *ero-*, *rē-* developed, in part, as follows: (1) ‘go, move:’ ON. *arna* ‘go, run,’ Gk. *δρυνμι*, Lat. *orior* ‘rise,’ OE. *rekan* ‘go, rush;’ (2) ‘move, separate, tear apart:’ Lith. *ir-ti* ‘separate,’ *ro-nā* ‘wound,’ OChSl. *oriti* ‘separate, destroy,’ *ra-na* ‘wound;’ Skt. *ár-da-ti* ‘move away, separate,’ *ardáyati* ‘shatter, injure;’ (3) ‘go forward, move forward, stretch out, direct:’ Gk. *όρέ-γω* ‘stretch,’ Lat. *regō* ‘direct;’ (4) ‘go for, aim at, attack, assail:’ Gk. *όρέγω* ‘attack,’ OE. *reccan* ‘reprove;’ ON. *rjā* < \**rē-jo-* ‘abuse,’ Lith. *rē-ti* ‘shout;’ *rēkti* ‘cry out;’ Gk. *ἔρι-s*, *ἔρι-δ-os* ‘strife,’ *ἔρει-δω* ‘thrust, press upon,’ from which ‘prop up, support’ (so Lith. *rēmti* ‘support’); (5) ‘stretch out, reach, get:’ OE. *rōmian* ‘possess;’ Goth. *rikan* ‘collect,’ OE. *racu* ‘rake;’ (6) ‘stretch toward, aim at:’ OHO. *rāmēn*; (7) ‘stretch toward, desire, enjoy:’ Gk. *ἔραμαι* ‘desire, love,’ *ἔρασ-τό-s* ‘lovely, pleasant,’ *ἔραv-vós*, same, from *ἔρασ-vós*, OHG. *rasta* ‘rest, stage,’ Goth. *rasta* ‘stage,’ *razn* ‘house’ < \*(e)rəs-nō = Gk. *ἔραv-vós*, -ov, while *rasta* < \*(e)rəstā = *ἔραστόs*, -ή, *erə-s-* being an extension of *ero-*, *rē-* in Gk. *ἔρωή*, OHG. *rāwa* ‘rest,’ from which also *re-mo-* in Goth. *rimis* ‘rest,’ Lith. *rīmti* ‘be quiet,’ Skt. *rāmatē* ‘stand still, rest;’ (8) ‘aim at, give heed to, consider:’ Lat. *reor*.

These are only a few of the numberless derived meanings that may spring from the simple root *ero-*. The numbers given do not indicate relative time of development but simply diverging lines. These were often simultaneous, the same root branching into various distinct uses. Thus the base *rē-mo-* produced (1) MHG. *ramme* ‘pile-driver,’ *ram*,

OE. *ramm* 'ram,' ON. *rammr* 'strong' (Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *Ramme*), base *rem-* 'thrust, strike;' (2) Lith. *rēmti* 'support,' OIr. *forimim* 'lay, set' (given by Uhlenbeck, s. v. *rimis*), cf. OHG. *rama* 'prop,' MHG. *rame, ram* 'prop, support, frame' (cf. Gk. *έρειδω* thrust, strike, set against, prop up, support); (3) OE. *rima* 'border, rim,' *rand* < \**rom-tā-* 'border' (properly 'support, frame'); (4) OHG. *rāmēn* 'aim at;' (5) OE. *rōmian* ('reach') 'possess;'; (6) Skt. *rāmatē* 'rest, take pleasure,' Goth. *rimis* 'rest.'

12. Skt. *ciketi* 'look, investigate, notice, observe,' root *q̄ēi-*, *cētati* 'look at, observe, consider, be intent upon, understand, know,' root *q̄ēi-to-*, OChSl. *čitā* 'count, reckon,' OIr. *ciall* 'understanding,' Welsh *pwyll* 'sensus, prudentia.' Brugmann, *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 605.

It will certainly be admitted that the root *q̄ēi-* in the above group does not appear in its original meaning. We find a phonetically identical root in Skt. *ci-nōti* 'arrange in order, pile up, build; collect, get possession of,' *kāya-s* 'body,' OChSl. *činū* 'arrangement,' Serb. *čin* 'form,' *činiti* 'make,' Gk. *ποιέω* 'make' (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 589; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *ποιέω*); and in Skt. *cāyatē* 'avenge, punish,' *āpa-citis* 'recompense,' Gk. *τίσις* 'atonement, penalty,' *ποινή* 'price, fine, ransom, penalty,' *τίνω, τīnω* 'requite, recompense,' *τίω* 'esteem, honor,' *τīμή* 'worth, honor,' Av. *kaēna* 'punishment,' Lith. *pus-kainiu* 'at half price,' OChSl. *cēna* 'price.' Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 588 f., 592; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*

These three groups are as closely related in meaning as in phonetics, the second group given above preserving the root in the most primitive sense: 'arrange in order.' From this developed 'count, calculate, consider, observe, look at;' and 'count, pay, requite, make atonement.'

Here, too, I should add the root *q̄ēi-, q̄iē-* in Goth. *hweila* 'while,' Lat. *quiēs, quiētus, tran-quīlus*, Skt. *cirā-* 'lasting, long,' OChSl. *po-čiti* 'rest,' etc. (Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *hweila, hweilan*). The growth in meaning is: 'arrange in order, continue, remain, rest.'

To *q<sup>u</sup>ei-* we may refer Lat. *quaerō* < \**q<sup>u</sup>oi-sō* ‘look into, investigate, seek for, desire, want, need.’ These meanings are closely connected with those of Skt. *cikēti*, and also explain those of Lat. *cūra* ‘attention, care,’ Paelign. *coisatens* ‘curaverunt,’ base \**q<sup>u</sup>oisā*. (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, 1<sup>2</sup>, 185.) With this compare Goth. *us-haista* ‘very needy, in great want,’ base \**q<sup>u</sup>ois-to-* ‘seeking, desiring, wanting, needing.’ This is the same derived meaning as in Lat. *quaerō* ‘want, need,’ *cūriōsus* ‘wasted, emaciated, lean,’ with which compare OHG. *heis*, MHG. *heis*, *heiser* ‘weak, faulty, rough, hoarse.’

For other Germ. words that have been referred to *q<sup>u</sup>ei-* cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *haidus*; Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *heiter*. From these we must separate Goth. *heitō* ‘fever’ on account of the lack of labialization, and consequently ON. *heitr* ‘hot,’ OE. *hāt*, etc. But we may refer to this root Goth. *haims* ‘village,’ OE. *hām* ‘home,’ Lith. *kēmas* ‘yard, farm.’ Primarily \**q<sup>u</sup>oimo-* may have meant ‘watched, guarded.’ Compare, for this explanation, Lith. *kaimenē* ‘herd’ < \**q<sup>u</sup>oimēnā-* ‘watched.’ From the primary meaning ‘guarded, kept’ may come MHG. *geheim*, *heimlich*. Notice also MHG. *heim-garte* ‘eingefriedigter garten.’ From ‘guarded, kept’ could also develop ‘cherished, loved.’ These may all be reduced to the root *q<sup>u</sup>ei-*.

13. Gk. δέρκομαι ‘perceive, behold, see,’ Skt. *dadárça* ‘have seen,’ *dīg* ‘seeing,’ Goth. *ga-tarhjan* ‘mark out,’ OE. *torht* ‘bright, famous,’ OHG. *zoraht*, etc., contain a root *der-k-*, which may be compared with *der-p-* in Gk. δρωπάξω· ἐμβλέπω, δρώπτω· διακόπτω ḥ διασκοπῶ, OHG. *zorft* ‘bright, clear,’ *zorfti*, *zorftel* ‘brightness.’ Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 11.

These are evidently derivatives of the root *der-* ‘separate, tear,’ as explained by Bechtel, *SW.* 165. But they are probably not from the signification ‘separate,’ although that might easily yield ‘understand, distinguish, unterscheiden,’ and then ‘see.’ The primary meaning I take rather to be ‘grasp, comprehend, perceive, behold,’ and this comes from ‘break off, tear, pluck.’ For this development of meaning

compare Lith. *kerpù* 'shear:' Lat. *carpō* 'gather, seize,' base *ger-p-* 'cut.'

We may therefore connect Gk. δρωπάξω 'behold, look at' with δρέπω 'gather, pluck.' The two meanings are as closely allied as *hold*: *behold*; *percipiō* 'seize, gather:' *perceive*, and certainly δρώπτω· διακόπτω is the same as δρώπτω· διασκοπῶ. From the base *dre-p-*, *der-p-* 'pluck, gather' come Gk. δόρπον, δόρπος, δόρπη 'supper' (cf. Prellwitz). Compare Lat. *carpō* 'gather:' 'devour;' and MHG. *zern* 'verzehren,' MLG. *teren* 'verzehren, mahlzeit halten,' etc. Or δόρπον may be from \**dor-q<sup>ü</sup>o-*, cf. Alb. *darke* 'supper,' Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 620.

In like manner Gk. δέρκομαι 'behold,' δροκτάζεις περιβλέπεις (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 431) may be compared with Gk. δράστομαι 'grasp, seize,' δράξ, δρακ-ός 'hand, handful,' base *der-k-*, and with Skt. dīhyati 'be firm,' Lith. *dirsstū* 'become tough,' Gk. δραχμή 'drachma,' OHG. *zarga* 'rim, shield,' etc., base *der-gh-*. Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 463; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*; Schade, *Wb.* With these compare *der-gh-* in OE. *tiergan* 'irritate, annoy,' G. *zergen*, Russ. *dergatī* 'tear.' Persson, *Wz.* 26.

A base *der-bh-* 'pluck, cut' may be assumed for Skt. *darbhā-* 'grass-tuft,' ON., LG. *torf*, OE. *turf*, OHG. *zurba* 'turf.' An other base *der-bh-* with the intransitive meaning 'go rapidly, whirl' is found in OHG. *zerben* 'turn, whirl,' OE. *tearflian* 'turn, roll,' MHG. *zirben* 'whirl,' *zirbilwint* 'whirlwind,' Lith. *drebēti*, Lett. *drebēt* 'tremble.' Cf. Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *zarbjan*.

The meaning whirl probably comes from 'go rapidly back and forth,' and such a meaning we find in the simple root *der-*. Compare MG. *zarren* 'reissend hin und her ziehen, zerren,' which is the active of 'go back and forth.' Here then belong the roots *drā-*, *dru-*, *drem-* 'flee, run,' which are simply intransitive uses of the root *der-* 'separate, burst apart, draw away.' Semasiologically there is no reason for separating Skt. *dar-* 'bersten, zerstieben, zersprengen' from

*drā-* ‘springen, laufen.’ From ‘spring’ develops the intensive ‘spring about, tremble.’ This occurs in Skt. *dari-drā-ti* ‘run about, run hither and thither,’ and, from the same root *drā-*, in Gk.  $\delta\imath\delta\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\omega$  ‘run.’ With the Gk.  $\delta\imath\delta\rho\bar{a}$ - compare the Germ. *titrō-* in OHG. *zittarōn* ‘tremble,’ ON. *titra* ‘shake, twinkle,’ E. *teeter* ‘auf und nieder schaukeln,’ Prov. E. *titter* ‘seesaw, tremble,’ E. *titter* ‘giggle, tremble with suppressed laughter.’ For this interchange of meaning compare OS. *thrimman* ‘spring, hop :’ Lat. *tremō* ‘tremble ;’ Gk.  $\tau\rho\acute{e}\omega$  ‘flee :’ ‘tremble.’ For other derivatives of the root *der-* ‘spring, run,’ cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *treten*. These, however, may represent the development ‘draw off :’ ‘go,’ as in G. *ziehen* or OE. *dragan* ‘draw :’ ‘go.’ This is certainly the case in MHG. *trechen* ‘draw,’ Du. *trekken* ‘draw, travel, march,’ E. *track*. With Goth. *trudan* ‘tread,’ OHG. *tretan*, etc., compare MHG. *tratz*, *trotz* ‘trotz’ < pre-Germ. *\*drotnō-*, *\*dṛtnó-* ‘trampling upon, zertretung,’ and MG. *trotz* ‘confidence’ = ‘a stepping on, relying on.’

From *der-* ‘tear off’ comes ‘hold,’ as in Gk.  $\delta\rho\acute{e}\pi\omega$  ‘tear off, pluck, seize, grasp.’ From the sense ‘hold’ develops the signification of the base *dreu-*, *drū-* ‘holding firm, steadfast, strong, true :’ Gk. *δρούν* ‘firm,’ Goth. *trauan* ‘trust,’ *trausti* ‘covenant,’ *triggws* ‘true,’ etc., OE. *trum* ‘firm, strong, steadfast, healthy,’ *ge-trum*, *truma* ‘a force, troop,’ etc. Whether Prus. *druwīs* ‘belief,’ OChSl. *sū-drawū* ‘strong, sound’ belong here is doubtful, since they may just as well be compared with Skt. *dhruvā-* ‘firm, steadfast, trustworthy,’ from the root *dher-* ‘hold.’ But to compare Skt. *dhruvā-* with Goth. *triggws* (as is done by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*) is entirely out of the question. For similarity of meaning is absolutely no ground for connecting words, since any given meaning might arise in a hundred different ways. If we combine Skt. *dhruvā-* with Goth. *triggws* because they are synonymous, then by all means let us add OE. *brymm* ‘strength, might,’ *þrýþ* ‘strength, might, troop,’ and we shall have the dental

series complete in *tru-*, *dru-*, *dhru-* 'strong.' We shall then have reached a point where the phonetic laws will cause no more difficulty. Any comparison will be possible if only the words are synonymous.

Another outgrowth of the meaning 'hold' is 'hold back, delay, aufhalten, sich aufhalten,' hence 'rest, sleep.' This occurs in Skt. *drāti*, Gk.  $\delta\alpha\rho\theta\acute{a}\nu\omega$ , Lat. *dormiō*, OChSl. *drēmati* 'sleep.' Compare Gk.  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omega$  'rest, keep holiday: sleep.' Of the same origin is the Germ. base *trē-ga-*, pre-Germ. \**drē-gho-* or \**drē-kó-*, 'holding back, slow, sluggish; held back, oppressed, grieved:' Goth. *trigō* 'reluctance, grudge, sorrow,' ON. *tregr* 'reluctant, slow,' *tregi* 'pain,' *trega* 'grieve,' OE. *trega*, *trāg* 'affliction,' OHG. *trāgi* 'träge,' etc. With these compare OE. *tiergan* 'afflict, annoy,' Du. *tergen* 'zerren,' Russ. *dergatí* 'tear, annoy,' G. *zergen*, Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> Notice also OE. *torn* 'anger, indignation, grief,' OHG. *zorn*, etc., perhaps from pre-Germ. \**dṛno-*, root *der-*, as usually explained. But this does not mean 'zerrissenheit des gemütes.' A primitive race would describe mental emotion from its outward effects—as seen or heard, not as felt. Compare the similar meanings in OChSl. *lupiti*, Lith. *lūpti* 'peel, strip off:' Gk.  $\lambda\bar{\nu}\pi\eta$  'grief, pain,'  $\lambda\nu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  'distress, annoy, grieve;' Gk.  $\lambda\nu\gamma\acute{i}\zeta\omega$  'bend, twist, writhe, suffer,' Lith. *lūsztu* 'break,' Lat. *lūgeō* 'mourn,' Gk.  $\lambda\nu\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{e}\os$  'sad, wretched,' Lat. *luctor* 'struggle,' *luctans* 'struggling, reluctant.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*) Perhaps OE. *træglian* 'pluck,' E. *trail* are genuine Germ. (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*<sup>5</sup> s. v. *treideln*). In that case they may belong to Goth. *trigō*, etc.

From *der-* 'tear away, spring forth' comes *dre-so-* 'sprinkle:' Gk.  $\delta\rho\sigma\sigma\omega$  'dew,' Goth. *ufar-trusnjan* 'besprinkle,' ON. *tros* 'abfall,' Lett. *di'rst* 'cacare,' *di'rsa* 'buttocks.' (Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v.  $\delta\rho\sigma\sigma\omega$ .) Compare E. *spring*: *sprinkle*; G. *zersprengen*: *besprengen*; OE. *scādan* 'separate, scatter, sprinkle, shed (blood), fall.'

In this manner every IE. root *der-*, *der-k-*, *der-p-*, etc., may be shown to be one in origin. And certainly the changes

in meaning assumed are natural and easy. To the words above given we may add: MHG. *tropfe* ‘simpleton,’ pre-Germ. \**dʒpnō-*: Skt. *darpa-* ‘wildness,’ *dṛpyati* ‘be crazed, wild,’ base *der-po-* ‘tear about,’ which is really the same as Gk. *δρέπω* ‘tear off;’ OHG. *zart* ‘tender, weak, soft, beloved;’ ‘tenderness, fineness, caress, love,’ *zerten* ‘caress’ pre-Germ. base *dor-tō-* ‘scratched, rubbed, caressed, made tender,’ for meaning compare Gk. *τείρω*, Lat. *terō* ‘rub;’ Gk. *τέρην* ‘soft, delicate’ (cf. Schade, *Wb.*).

14. OHG. *scouwōn* ‘sehen, schauen, betrachten,’ OE. *scēawian* ‘see, scrutinize, regard, select, provide,’ Goth. *us-skaus* ‘prudent,’ *skauns* ‘well-formed, beautiful,’ OHG. *scūwo* ‘shade,’ *scūchar* ‘mirror,’ etc., from the Germ. root *skū-*, *skau-*, pre-Germ. *sqwo-* in Gk. *θυο-σκόος* ‘priest,’ *κοέω* ‘mark, hear’ (with which compare *qou-s-* in Gk. *ἀ-κούω*, Goth. *hausjan* ‘hear’), Skt. *kavī-* ‘sage,’ *ā-kúvatē* ‘intend,’ Lith. *kavotī* ‘guard against,’ OChSl. *čuti* ‘feel, perceive,’ Lat. *caveō*, etc. (Cf. Kluge, Prellwitz, Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wbb.*)

This root *sqū-*, *sqwo* I regard as a derivative of *seqo-*, *sqē-* ‘cut.’ From this develops ‘mark, notice, perceive, hear, see,’ etc. In this way the various significations are easily explained. Thus OE. *scēawian* ‘regard (with favor), select, scrutinize’ = ‘mark, mark out;’ Goth. *skauns* ‘well-formed’ = ‘cut out, shaped, shapely;’ MHG. *schōne* ‘schon’ = ‘shaped, prepared, ready;’ Gk. *κοέω* ‘mark’ needs no explanation. ‘Cut, prepare’ explains the following, which may be added to the above: Gk. *σκεῦος* ‘tools, trappings, *rüstung*,’ *σκευή* ‘apparatus, equipment, dress,’ *σκευάζω* ‘prepare, dress, equip, supply.’ Observe also that Lat. *caveō* (which I should explain as \**qay-* not *qāy-*, as done by Brugmann, *Grd.*, 1<sup>2</sup>, 155) means ‘ward off’ = ‘strike, cut’ in *adversos ictus cavere ac propulsare, alicui cavere*, etc.

From *s-qeqo-* ‘cut, cut out’ comes the signification ‘cover, protect.’ This develops through ‘something cut out, skin, garment, shield’ or ‘something dug out, cave, shelter’ or directly from ‘cut, strike, ward off, protect.’ For examples

of this meaning cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *σκῦλον*, *σκύτος*; Schade, *Wb.* s. v. *scūr*; Kluge, s. v. *Scheuer*.

I think there can be no doubt that in one or other of these ways the idea 'shelter, protect' arose. Compare Goth. *skildus* 'shield,' Lith. *skiltis* 'disk:' *skeliù* 'split;' E. *shed* 'scheide, schuppe;' MHG. *schützen*, *beschützen* 'protect:' *schüte* 'wall,' *schütten* 'schütteln, schütten.' And so numberless cases. It is impossible, indeed, even to suppose that there was an undrived root of any kind meaning 'cover.' Such an idea would be expressed, not by seizing a ready made word out of the air, but by describing the method of covering, sheltering, protecting. Such a word being once formed, it would develop according to its derived not its primary meaning. So we may assume all words arose. But the absolute origin, whether exclamatory or imitative grunt, is beyond our ken. One thing is certain: if we cannot rely upon the phonetic composition of a word, we have no ground to stand on.

It is probably from the idea 'cut off, separate' that the signification 'shadow' originated. The 'shadow' was thought of as a separation, shelter, protection from the sun. Thus: OE. *scuwa* 'protection, shadow;' *scead* 'protection, shade,' *sceadu* 'protection, arbor, shadow;' OHG. *scūr* 'wetterdach, schutz,' *sciura* 'scheuer,' Lat. *ob-scūrus*, with which compare Goth. *skūra* 'storm,' OE. *scūr* 'shower' (of rain, hail, missiles), ON. *skūr*, OHG. *scūr* 'schauer,' base *sqū-ro-* 'throwing, warding off, separating, protecting' (cf. E. *shed*, 'scheide, schuppe;,' MHG. *schütten* 'schütteln,' *beschützen* 'beschützen'); Gk. *σκιά* 'shadow,' base *sqě-jo-*, *sqī-* 'throwing off, protecting, shading;' 'irradiating, shining.' Gk. *σκιάζω* 'shade, overshadow, cover,' *καῦμα σκ.* = 'aestatem defendere,' Goth. *skeinan* 'shine,' etc., with which compare OE. *scēnan* 'break,' *scīa*, *scinu* 'shin,' G. *schiene*, etc., primarily 'something cut off,' hence 'splint, splinter, strip, shin,' etc.; Goth. *skeirs* 'clear,' OE. *scīr* 'clear, bright,' MHG. *schīr*, etc., base *sqī-ro-* 'cutting, marking off; throwing off, radiating,' also in OE. *scīr* 'shire, office,' Gk. *σκίρον* 'cheese-paring,' *σκίρος* 'any hard

coat or crust,' *σκιρός* 'hard;' and further in OHG. *skēro*, *sciaro* 'quick,' *sciari*, *scēri* 'quick-witted,' pre-Germ. \**sqēi-ro-*, cf. Gk. *σκί-ναξ* 'quick, nimble,' Lat. *scio* 'know.' These examples are enough to make it quite probable that the 'shadow' in many cases is thought of as a covering, protection, thrown over or cast by some object.

Now we see in the above roots the bases *sqo-uo-*, *sqū-*; *sqe-jo-*, *sq̄i-*; *sqo-to-*, in all of which the meaning 'shadow' is found. After the explanation given I take it that it is not too much to assume that they may all be derivatives of the root *seqo-*, *sqē-* 'cut off, separate, throw off,' etc.

15. Gk. *σκοπέω*, *σκέπτομαι* 'search out, inquire, examine, look at, behold,' *σκοπός* 'watcher' are connected by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, with *σκέπας* 'covering, shelter,' *σκέπη*, same, *σκεπάω* 'shelter.' This is certainly preferable to the connection with Lat. *speciō* (cf. Brg., *Grd.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 873), but the explanation of the meaning as given by Prellwitz is hardly correct.

The base *sqo-po-*, *sqe-po-* meant primarily 'cutting off, separating; cut off, separated.' Used literally this gave 'separating, protecting, sheltering; ' figuratively, 'separating, searching out, examining,' etc. Such a development of meaning is too common to need illustration. It is the same as we saw above in OE. *scēawian* 'seek out, select, reconnoitre, scrutinize, see.'

16. Lat. *cer-nō*, *crē-vī* 'separate, distinguish, perceive, see,' Lith. *skiriu* 'separate,' Gk. *κείρω* 'cut off, shear,' OHG. *sceran* 'shear,' etc., root *sqe-ro-* 'cut.' (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 29, 62.) Compare ON. *skil* 'discernment,' ME. *skil* 'reason,' E. *skill*, ON. *skilja* 'separate,' Lith. *skeliū* 'split,' Gk. *σκάλλω* 'dig, hoe,' root *sqe-lo-* 'cut; ' and Lat. *sciō* 'understand, perceive, know,' *dē-sci-scō* 'separate,' root *sqe-jo-*, *sq̄i-* 'cut.' (Id., ib. 38; 112.) So also Lat. *distinguō* ('thrust apart,' v. supra) 'separate, discriminate, distinguish.'

17. OE. *starian*, OHG. *starēn*, MHG. *starn*, G. *starren* 'stare.' These words express the fixedness of body and

features occasioned by a sight that causes surprise or astonishment. Hence OHG. *stara-blint*, MHG. *star-blint* 'starrblind,' OE. *stær-blind* 'quite blind,' primarily with eyes 'fixed and glazed.' To these are related Gk. *στερεός* 'stiff, hard,' OChSl. *starū* 'old,' Lith. *storas* 'thick,' ON. *stōrr* 'strong,' Goth. *stairō* 'sterile,' etc. Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *starr*, *Stärke*.

*Stare* is a good example of a class of words which described primarily a certain expression and only by implication meant 'look at.' So E. *gape* 'yawn:' 'look at with open mouth,' G., MHG. *gaffen*, ON. *gapa* 'yawn;' E. *squint* 'look at with a squint;' *leer* 'look at with a distorted expression;' *peep* 'peer, as through a crevice.' Similarly we may say *frown at*, *smile at*, *sneer at*, etc., implying 'look at with a frown, smile, sneer,' etc.

18. OE. *gorettan* 'gaze, stare,' like OE. *starian*, OHG. *starēn*, E. *stare*, denotes a fixed glance, and has probably come to its signification in the same way. Its etymon, therefore, may be a word expressing stiffness. I find a group of words whose meanings go back to the common idea 'bristling,' and this gives the meaning sought. These words are: OE. *gyr* 'fir-tree,' *gorst* 'gorse, furze' (compare ON. *fyra* 'fir:' OE. *fyres* 'furze'), Lith. *gaūras* 'hair on the body,' *gaurutas* 'hairy,' Skt. *ghorā-* 'horrid, awful, violent' (compare Lat. *horridus* 'bristly, shaggy; horrid, frightful, savage'). From these I should separate Goth. *gaurs* 'sad.' That is better taken as suggested by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, and may further be referred to the root *ghu-* 'pour, flow.'

19. MHG. *gucken*, *gücken*, G. *gucken*, 'look at with curiosity, peep.' This word implies either stealth or foolish curiosity. In either case it may be referred to OHG. *gouh(h)*, ON. *gaukr*, OE. *gēac* 'cuckoo,' MHG. *gouch* 'cuckoo, gawk.' So also E. *gawk* is used colloquially as a verb meaning 'look at like a gawk.' The *-ek-* of MHG. *gucken*, *gücken* causes no difficulty. It occurs also in MHG. *gucken*, OHG. *guccōn* 'call cuckoo.' We have then two derivatives of the word for 'cuckoo.' \**gukkōn* 'call cuckoo' and \**gukkjan* 'act like a

cuckoo or gawk.' The *-kk-* as well as the *-k-* of the Germ. stem *gauka-* < \**gaukka-* is from pre-Germ. *-kn̄-*. Compare MHG. *guggug, guggouch* 'cuckoo,' which are reduplicated forms, and *gugzen* < \**gugatjan* 'call cuckoo.' The stem *guga-, gukka-, gauka-* may be compared with Skt. *ghūka-* 'owl,' and these may be referred to the root *ghū-* 'shout, cry,' Skt. *ghō-ṣa-* 'noise, shout,' *ghōṣati* 'cry, shout.'

20. E. *gloat*, MHG. *glotzen* 'glotzen,' ON. *glotta* 'smile derisively' come from a Germ. base *\*glottō* < \**ghludnā-* (or *-dhnā-* or *-tnā-*) 'jesting, derision,' which is from *ghlū-* in OE. *gleow* 'glee, jest, ridicule,' *gleām*, ON. *glaumr* 'gayety, wantonness,' Gk.  $\chi\lambda\epsilon\eta$  'jest,'  $\chi\lambda\epsilon\nu\zeta\omega$  'jeer, scoff at,' Lith. *glauda-s* 'sport.' (Cf. Brg., *Grd.*, 1<sup>2</sup>, 573.)

By the side of the base *ghle-uo-* occurs *ghle-jo-:* Lett. *glaima* 'jest,' *glaimīt* 'jest, caress,' MHG. *glien* 'cry' (of birds), Gk.  $\kappa\imath\chi\lambda\iota\zeta\omega$  'giggle.' These are from the root *ghelo-, ghlē-:* ON. *glam(m)* 'noise, hilarity,' *glama* 'be hilarious,' *galm* 'sound,' OHG. *gellan* 'resound, yell,' *galan* 'sing,' etc. (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 69, 195 f.)

Another class of verbs for 'see' is connected with words meaning 'shine.' (Cf. Bechtel, *SW.* 157.) These are, for the most part, like those just discussed: they are descriptive of an expression of countenance. Thus *beam, gleam, glare* as nouns may denote a certain expression of eye or feature, as verbs they may mean to look with such an expression. So also *glance* and *to glance*; G. *blick, blicken*; Gk.  $\lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa\acute{o}s$  'bright, glancing,'  $\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\sigma\omega$  'glance at, look at;' Lith. *žvilgėti* 'glänzen, blicken.'—The further discussion of these words would require an investigation into the origin of the ideas underlying 'shine, gleam.' This is reserved for another occasion.

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